SOUTH INDIAN STUDIES

Dr. R. NAGASWAMY

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EDITOR
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Edited by :

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

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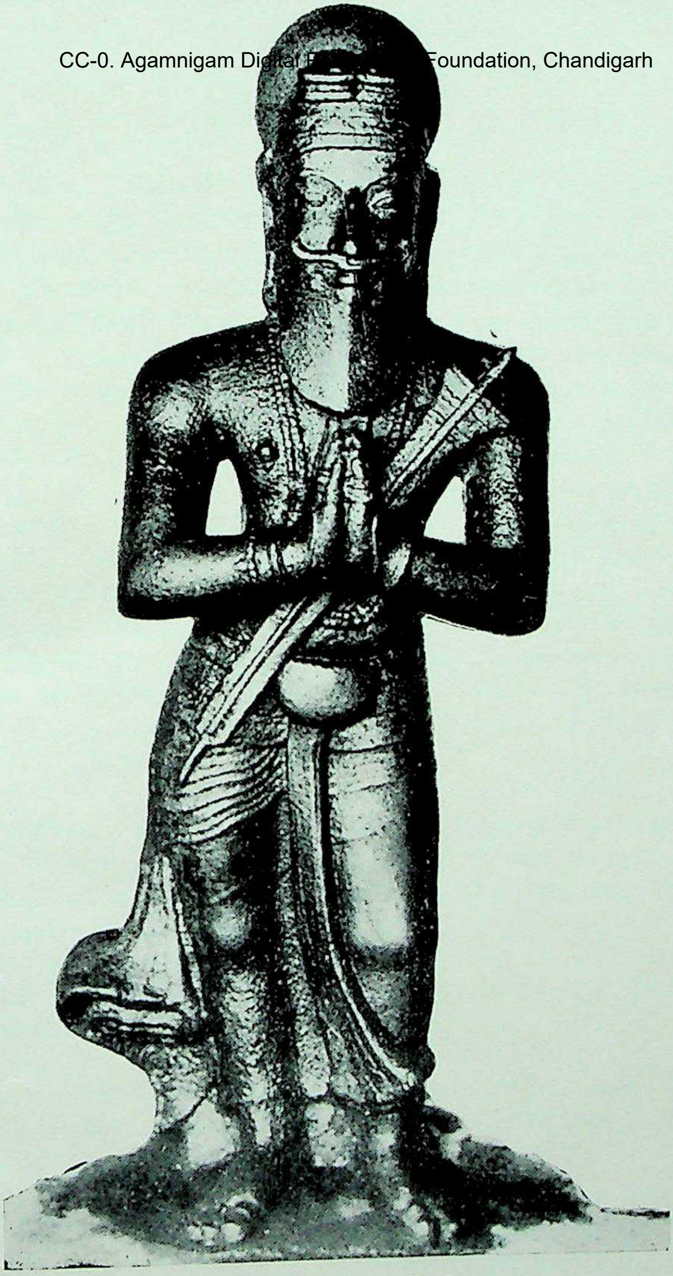

Emperor as devotee; an image of Kulottunga Chola III, Siva temple, Thiruvalangadu, Tanjore district, 13th Century A. D.

Foreword

"SOUTH INDIAN STUDIES" published under the Editorship of Dr. Nagaswamy is both interesting and valuable and I am happy to learn that other volumes will follow in this series. This volume contains a few significant articles from a few friends of mine, who unfortunately are no more with us. "A Tamil Colony in Mediaeval China" from my friend T. N. Subramaniam, is interesting as shown by the title itself. In addition the author has discussed at length the various facts connected with China and Tamil land. My good friend Prof. T. Balakrishna Nayar, unfortunately died before he could complete the catalogue of Roman and Byzantine coins in the Govt. Museum Madras. A reply to his enquiry about a Medallion, was returned with the sad news of Nayar's death. His note and the reply to the enquiry are here printed. Dr. Minakshi who held out such great hopes died very young and her translation of Mahendravarma Pallava's another humorous "*Prahasana*' is printed here. Because of these the volume is in a sense an immemorial.

There are interesting articles on Iconography, Painting, Dance, Terracotta, Architecture and Tantra, not to speak of those on irrigation system, identification of Kattanai Parumar., the Dravidian Origin of Krishna cult etc.

What is of greater weight is the collection of photographs published illustrating the articles.

Dr. R. Nagaswamy deserves our congratulations and it is hoped the coming volumes in the series will be equally momentous and attractive.

T. P. Meenakshisundaram
Former Vice Chancellor
Madurai University

PREFACE

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This volume is the inaugural venture of the Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Studies, Madras. Many scholars felt the absence of an authoritative forum where they could express their views and communicate their findings to the world of learning. The society, which was formed recently to promote studies in archaeology, history and epigraphy, is confident that this volume marks the beginning of an amenity for scholarship.

The book contains twenty-four papers on a variety of topics in the three disciplines. This fact shows that considerable work is being carried on. It is a pleasure for the society to be able to bring it to the attention of the scholarly world.

The society is conscious that its venture may prove difficult to sustain. But it is encouraged by the considerable response its sfforts have already received from scholars as well as financial supporters. But its present mood is one of thankfulness for work done. It is in sign of this that it has placed on the frontispiece a photograph of an emperor who was a devotee. The humility the picture so graphically expresses will guide its own efforts.

The editor attaches particular value to the article 'A Tamil Colony in China' by T.N. Subramaniam, and the translation of "Bhagavad Ajjukam" a prahasana by Mahendra Pallava, by Dr. C. Minakshi. Both the scholars are not with us now. Their relatives made available their manuscripts to me for publication. My thanks are due to them. The Society offers its thanks to the advertisers, but for whose willing help, it would not have been possible to bring this volume. I also thank the contributors.

I thank Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Former Vice chancelor of the Madurai university for contributing the valuable foreword.

The Novel Art Printers, have printed the text and Elangovan printers the art plates and we record our appreciation of their neat work.

I thank Mr. N.S. Ramaswamy Asst. Editor, Indian Express, Madras for assisting in the Editorial Board, Mrs. Chitra Viji the Secretary of the SAHER deserves the praise of all, for her keen interest and active help in bringing out this volume.

R. NAGASWAMY
Editor.

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A Tamil Colony in Mediaeval China

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM

1. Tamil Inscriptions outside Tamilnadu :

Inscriptions written in the Tamil language and script found outside the traditional region of the Tamiḻ-nāḍu are of special interest and significance. We know that Tamil flourished as the court and official language under the reigns of the Pallavas of Kānchīpuram, the Imperial Chōḻas of Tañjāvūr and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. When the authority of these powers reached high, they extended over the adjacent tracts of land in the Andhra Pradesh and the Karnataka regions and also beyond the seas over parts of the island of Ceylon and even in South-East Asia. It is but natural to find Tamil inscriptions relating to certain periods of history in those regions. The existence of such records in the Nellore, Chitoor, Cuddapah and Anantapur Districts of the Andhra Pradesh and the Kolar, Bangalore and Mysore districts of the Mysore State, contigenous to the Tamiḻnādu and also in Ceylon is well-known. We also come across Instances where, instead of both the language and the script of the record being in Tamil, only one of them is. For example a record[1] of the time of Rājēndra Chōḻa I mentioning his general Araiyaṉ Rājarājaṉ *alias* Vikrama Chōḻa Sōḻiyavaraiyaṉ from Kottasīvaram in the Anantapur district of the Andhra Pradesh is in the Tamil language but is found inside in the Telugu-Kannada script. Another inscription[2] of the time of the Vijayanagara ruler Krishnadēvarāya from Tirupparuthikkuṉṟam near Kāñchipuram is engraved in the Tamil script but is found composed in the Kannada language.

Tamil inscriptions are found even beyond these areas. A Tamil inscription from Viśākhapaṭṭiṉam[3], the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Andhra Pradesh known as Kulōttuṅgasōḷapaṭṭanam in those days, 'registers in Tamil a gift by a native of Pandalāyni Kollam (now in the Kerala State) to the temple of Karumānikka-āḷvār in the reign of the Eastern Ganga King Vīra-Naraśingadēva (A.D. 1250) Similarly-another Tamil inscription from Simhāchalam;[4] near Visakha, pattinam of the time of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I begins with his *meykkīrti* commencing with the words *Pugaḷ suḷṉda Puṇari*. At Bhuvanēśvara in Orissa, was found the inscribed stone,[5] now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Arts attached to the University of Calcutta, which bears a bi-lingual inscription in Tamil and Oriya, registering a gift in the reign of the Gajapati ruler Narasimha IV, towards the close of the 14th century A. D. The farther the distance of the find spot of a record is from the Tamiḷ-nāḍu, the greater becomes its importance.

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[1] South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. IX, No. 300.

[2] South Indian Temple Inscriptions edited by T. N. Subramaniam (Madras Government Oriental Series) Vol. I, No. 528.

[3] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy No. 98 of 1909.

We also know of a few Tamil inscriptions from places beyond the seas in South-East Asia. A fragmentary Tamil inscription[6] in characters of the 9th or 10th century A.D. has been obtained from the region of Takua-Pa in Siam, i.e. Thailand, situated in the Malaya Peninsula. It registers the digging of a tank named Avani-Nāraṇam and the placing it under the protection of the merchant-guild *Maṇikkirāmattār* and two other institutions. A broken and damaged stone from Loboe Toewa, Baros, Sumatra, said to be preserved in the Archaeological collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, contains a Tamil record[7] registering a gift by the Merchant-guild *Tiśai-Āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvar*, variously known as the *Nānādēsi* and the 'Five Hundred' in the Śaka year 1010 (A.D. 1018). From Pagan in Burma has been recovered a Tamil inscription[8] in characters of the 13th or 14th century A.D. registering gifts to the temple of Vishṇu known as Nānādēśi Viṇṇagar Āḷvār by a merchant of Malaimaṇḍalam. It is interesting that this record opens by quoting the sixth verse of the work *Mukuntamālā* in Sanskrit ascribed to the South Indian Vaishṇava royal Saint Kulasēkhara Āḷvār.

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[4] South Indian Inscriptions (Text), Vol. VI, No. 1144.

[5] Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXXII, pp. 229-38.

[6] Journal of Oriental Research, Vol, VI, pp. 299-310, also Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, pp. 71-2.

[7] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1892 p. 12; also the article in English. A Tamil Merchant-guild in Sumatra by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde Bataviaasche Genostochap, 1932, pp. 314 ff.

[8] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII, pp. 137-8.

On the top of all these, a Tamil inscription has reccntly came to light from China. Strictly speaking it is a bi-lingual inscription in Tamil and Chinese.

2. A Bi-Lingual Epigraph from China

The inscription chisilled on a white stone now in two pieces is reported to have been unearthed in December 1956 in the residential area of the street Wu-Pau in the port town of Chuan-cbou on the main land to the north of Hong-Kong and opposite to the Formosa island. It can be seen from the photographs that the stone on which the inscription has been written lengthwise is broken into two, the left piece (32×55 Cms- being slightly shorter than the right one. (32+65 Cms). The broken edges of both the pieces appear to have been smoothe) ned and consequently one or two characters in each line at this place have disappeared. However, these at least relating to the Tamil portion, can be restored with a fair amount in certainty,

The record, made up of six lines of writing; is bi-lingual and consists of Tamil and Chinese portions. The Tamll part covers the first five lines and the first two characters of the sixth line the remaining part in the sixth line is filled up with Chinese characters. The left piece contains six characters of which the first five are complete while the sixth is thoroughly damaged; the right half contains seven characters Thus thirteen Chinese characters in all are now available of the Chinese portion of the record. Possibly, one or two characters have been lost at the break. It may be inferred that the Chinese part is also complete inasmuch as space in which one or two characters can be written is left blank at the end of the line.

The Chinese part of the record has not been read and interpreted and as such it is not included in the study. But it may be safely assumed that it is only the Chinese version of the record as is usual with the bi-lingual records. We have a large number of such records in the Tamil country. Almost all the copper-plate grants of the rulers in the medieval period in South India contain both the Sanskrit and Tamil portions, each complete in itself with the particulars of the grant registered therein. Only one of the two, generally the Tamil version, is the official and principal part of the document; still they are complimentary to each other, one supplying some details not found in the other. Both the Tamil and the Oriya parts of the Bhuvanēśvara record are complete by themselves and refer to the same transaction; still there are some slight difference in the details between the two and we find also additional information in each of them not found in the other.

The Vīrabhadraswāmi temple at Mōṭupaḷḷi in the Guntut district of the Andhra Pradesh, a port-town in those daysr contains a bi-lingnal record[9] in Tamil and Telugu of the time of the Reḍḍi ruler Anavōṭa dated A.D 1358. Both of them are independent versions of the same charter, even though the Tamil record contains more particulars than the Telugu version.

Another instance in which the Chinese is one of the languages, the Trilingual inscription[10] from Galle in Ceylon may be cited in support of the above, Dated in A.D. 1409. the seventh regnal year of the Chinese Emperor Yung-Lo of the Ming dynasty, it registers in three languages. Tamil, Persian and Chinese. the gifts made by the Chinese emperor through his General Cheng-Ho. The preamble to the inscription and the list of the materials presented by him are the same in all the three versions. Only the name of the deity to which they were presented is mentioned differently in each. This has led scholars to conclude that the inscription registers three identical gifts simultaneously made to three different deities. But really the names, though mentioned differently in the three versions, pertain only to the same deity[11]. Thus it will be evident that all the three parts in the Galle epigraph relate to the same transaction. Similarly in the case of the bi-lingual inscription from China, now under study, we may assume that both the Tamil and the Chinese parts refer to the same transaction.

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[9] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy Nos. 601 and 602 of 1909. The Telugu version has been Published in the South Indian Insciption (Texts) Vol, X. No.

[10] Spolia Zeylanica Vol. VIII, pp, 122-132, for the Tamil version see Epigraphia Zeylanica Vol. III, Ph. 330 ff

[11] This has been discussed in detail by the present writer giving a revised edition of the Tamil portion of the record in another work, Alakes vara, also under publication.

But there is no gainsaying the fact that a clear understanding of the Chinese part will be very much helpful in the correct identification of the chief under whose command the record was issued.

3. The Tamil Part of the Inscription :

The Tamil part opens with a Sanskrit expression *Harahs Svasti Śrī Sagāptam* in the first line, written in the Grantha Script. The word *Śakābdam* is writen incorrectly, clearly testifying to the influence of the Tamil language. The forms of the Tamil characters are not correct and proper. The symbol for the medial vowel? is in the form of a semi-circle very much in disproportion to the size of the letter, joined at the ends to the top of the letter. The symbol for the medial vowel *ai* is found written in different • forms: that of the letter *dai* in the expression *muḍaiya* in the third line and that of the letter *rai* in the word *nāyinārai* in the same line can be compared with the similar symbal for the letters *rai* in the word *Chittirai* in lines 1 and 2 and *chai* in the word *Chekachai* in lines 2 and 5. The forms of the letter *na* in the word *nāyiṉārai* in line 3 and of the word *naṉṟāga* in lines 2 and 3 are quite different, while that found in the word *Śambanda* in line 5 looks more like a *ta*, Similarly the form of *ya* in the letter *yi* in the word *Nayiṉārai* is quite different from that of the *ya* preceding the same word in the same line. The two forms of the letters *ṇa* in the word *paṇṇi* in the fourth line may be profitably compared. Similarly the letter *ṉa* in the word *kāṉ* in lines 2 and 5 and at the end of the word *Perumālāṉa* in lines 4 and 5 and of the compound *ṉi* in the word *tirumēṉi* in line 2 and of the compound *ṉā* in the word *navināṟai* in line 3 are not alike. The last letter of the word *Darmāṉ* (*firman*) in line 5 is written as *la*. These and the other irregularities in the formation of many of the letters in the record will clearly point out that the epigraph was incised by a person ignorant of Tamil. who simply copied the text, itself

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written probably in a bad hand, given to him. It may be noted in this connection that even the Trilingual inscription from Galle is considered to have been engraved in China itself and transported along with the gifts to Ceylon. It may be concluded that the present record also inclusive of the Tamil portion, was incised in China itself.

TEXT

1. Harah (*) Svasti śrī (*) Śaga p tam 1203 – vadu chittirai—
2. Ch-chittirai nāḷ Śrī Cheka-kāṉ tirumēṉi [kki] nan –
3. r-āga uḍaiyār Tirukata... [śu] ram = uḍaiya nāyiṉārai
4. ēṟi-yaruḷa-p-paṇṇi - - Śambanda-p-perumāḷ –
5. [ā] ṉa Tavachchakkarava [r'[tti [ka] - Chekachai - kan parma [ṉ]
6. Paḍi (*) * * * * * [*] - * * * * * * *

(Each star in the 6th line represents a Chinese character.)

NOTES :

Line 1: The *lacuna* at the break may be filled with the symbol for the medial vowel *ā* long, thus making up the letter *ga* as *gā* The first letter on the right was probably *ba*. The semicircle at the top of the letter *ta* is not to be understood as the symbol for the medial vowel *i*, but as the link connecting the letter as a sub-script to the previous one, thus making both of them a ligature. The correct form of the expression as already noticed is *Śakābdam*. The letter *va* after the numeral 3 is not proper and the vertical line at the right is wanting.

Line 2 : The *lacuna* may be filled up with the characters for *chai* as found in line 5; the traces of the character *cha* are found at the beginning of this line in the right piece. The vertical line at the right of the badly shaped letter *ṉi* has been converted into a *ka*. The two symbols of *ka* after that appears more like *cha* with the projection in the middle to the right of

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12. Spolia Zeylanica, Vol, VIII. p. 123.

the vertical missing. The symbol for the medial *i* is added to the first of these instead of to the second.

Line 3: The break may be filled up with the letters *lich* as will be shown later on. It is not clear whether there is space for two letters or only one. If latter. the letter can be *li* only. The first two letters in the right piece which have been read as *chura* can also be read as *tara* or *tā*. Either way it will not make any sense. The two symbols for the medial vowel *ai*, and the letters *na* and *gi* are badly shaped.]

Line 4: The shape of the letter *ṇa* is bad. The blank may be filled up with the two letters *nār*, traces of which are seen. The letter *na* looks very much like *ta*. Of the letter *ḷā* in the word *Perumāḷāṉa*, the character for *ḷa* is found at the end of this line while the symbol for the medial vowel *ā* long is written at the beginning of the next line.

Line 5: The doubled consonant *kka* in the word *chakharava [r*] tti* are written like *tta*, and the pure consonant *r* in the suffix *vartti* is found dropped as in many other records of the period. The symbol for the medial vowel *i* is found added to both the characters of *ta* in the suffix *vartti* instead of only to the second character. The gap may be filled up with the two letters *Kaḷ*. The first letter can be made out from what remains of the character. at the end of the left piece. The last letter of the line which should be *ṉ* of the word *parmāṉ* (*firman*) is written as *ḷa*.

To give a clear idea of what the inscription wlll look in the modern characters it is given below in the Grantha and Tamil as found in the record.

1. ஹர : [11*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ சகாப்தம் ௲௨௱௩ வது சித்திரை
2. ச்சித்திரை நாள் ஸ்ரீ செக :(சை) கான் திருமெனி (க்கி) நன் -
3. ருக உடையார் திருகத [ளிச்*] சுரமுடைய நாயினாரை
4. எரியருளப் பண்ணி [னார்*] சம்பந்தப் பெருமாள -

5. ஈன தவச் சக்கரவ [ர் *] த்தி [க] [ள் *] செகசை
காான் பர்மா [ன்]

6. படி [11 *] ... ... [*]
... ...

TRANSLATION

"Obeisance to Hara (Śiva). Let there be prosperity ! On the day (having) the Chitrā (asterism) in the month of Chittirai of the Śaka Year 1203, the Tavachchakkaravarttigaḷ *alias* Sambandhap-perumāḷ caused, in accordance with the *firman* of Chekachai-Khān, to be graciously installed the God Uḍaiyār Tirukkadalīśvaram Uḍaiya-nāyiṉār, for the welfare of the illustrious body of the illustrious Chekachai Khān."

The inscription is dated on the day having the asterism of *Chitrā* in the month of *Chittirai* in the Śaka Year 1203 i.e. the *Chitrā-paurnami* day in the month of Chittirai corresponding to April in the year 1281 A. D.

Full details neassary for calculating the exact date are not available. However, the intended date seems to be April 5. A.D 1281, Saturday, Corresponding to Vrisha, Chittirai 12, which the *Chitra-paurnami* day having both the *tithi* and the *nakshatra*. It states the Sambandha-p-perumāl, who was the *Tavachchakravartigaḷ* installed God Siva in a temple in accordance with the *firman* of the illustrious Chekachai-khān for the welfare of the illustrious body of that Khan. It is not stated specifically whether the installation was in temple newly built for the purpose or whether it was made in a temple already in existence. It is usual to assume in similar cases that the temple was newly constructed and that the deity was installed therein. The present instance also may be considered likewise,

There is a *lacuna* in the third line of the record at the place where the name of the God is mentioned. That it was some form of Śiva becomes clear from the available portion of the name, *Uḍaiyār Tirukata... śuram-uḍaiya-nāyiṉār* The full and correct name of the god cannot be made out or restored with certainty. Considering the space available and the traces

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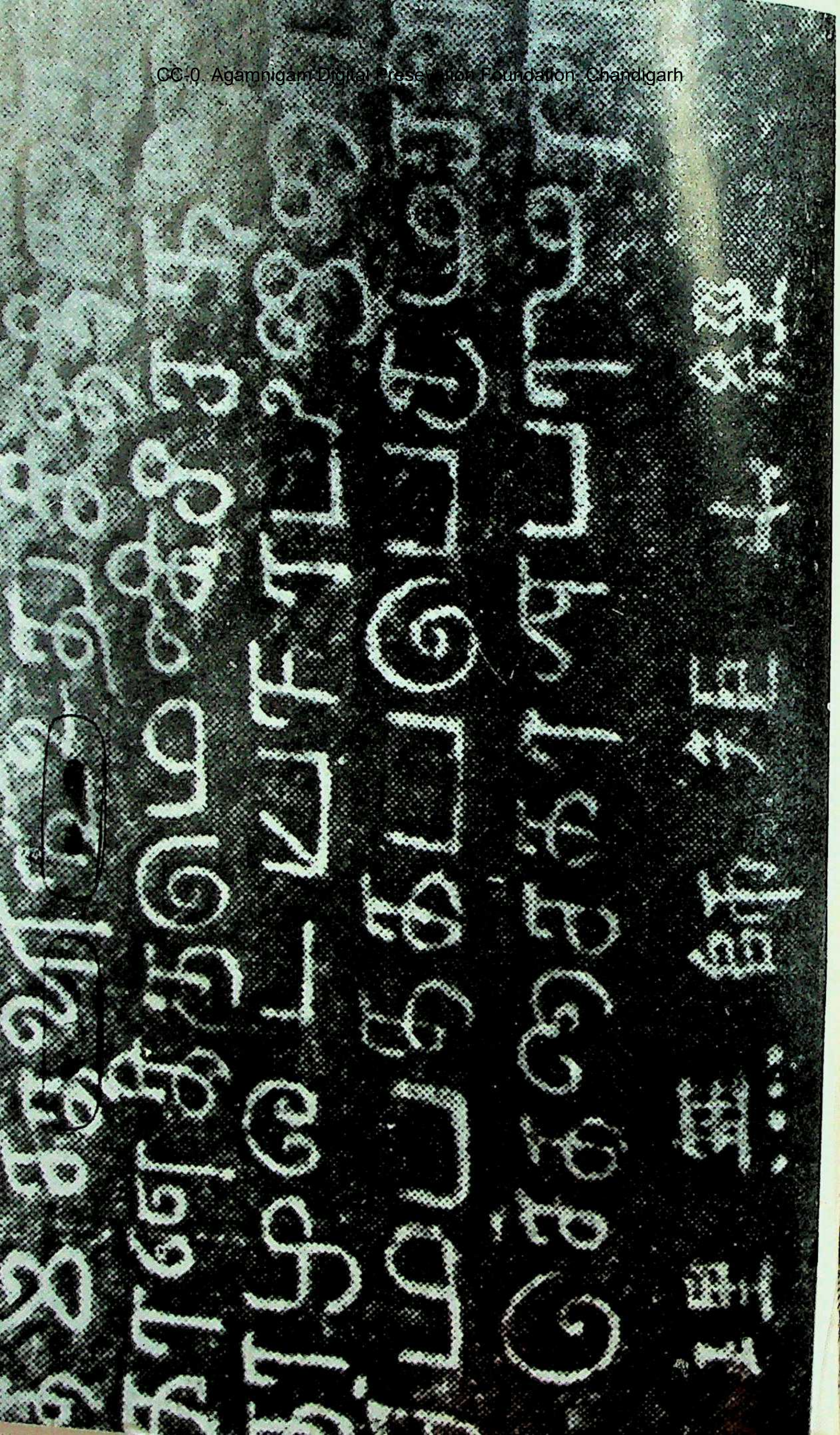

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of the letters found at the end of the left piece and at the beginning of the right piece, we may restore the same perhaps as *Tiru-Kata (līch) churam* or Tirukkadalīśvaram. It is said that Kada'ichchuram is the name of one of the one thousand and eight places sacred to Śiva *(S'iva-sthala)*, The place has not been identified yet. We do not also know in which part of the country it existed. The word *Kadali* means banana'. The Śiva temple at Tiruppaiññīli, near Tiruchirāpalli, has the banana tree as the sacred tree *(sthala-Vriksha)* of the place. The Tamil word *Paññīli* itself is said to mean a variety of the banana tree. It is therefore quite possible that the name of the temple might have been Tirukkadalīśvaram given in as much as the banana tree was the *sthalavṛiksha*. It is not known whether this name was given to this temple independently or in imitation of a place in South India. Perhaps it was a case of the latter.

4. The port-town of Ch'uan-Chou

Chu'an-Chou is known to have been a place to which the merchant-vessels sailed in olden times from south India. It should have been a place having a large congregation of Tamil people, probably composed, not only of the floating population who visit the place periodically for trade and other purposes, but also of many permanent residents.

This place has been identified with Zayton, (variously written as Zaitan, Zeitan Zartan and the like) of medieval times. Marco Polo, the Venetian who came to China in the latter part of the 13th century A.D. refers also to this port in the form of Zai-tun[13]. According to him it was celebrated as a resort of ships, loaded with marchandise that was afterwords distributed through every port of the province. "The quantity of pepper imported there is so considerable that what is carried to Alexandria to supply the demand of the western parts of the world is trifling in comparison, perhaps not more than the hundredth part." He has described it as one of the largest and most commodious ports in the world. He has also noticed that the people were idolaters and had all the necessities of life in plenty. "Many persons arrive in this city from the interior parts of India for the purpose of having their persons ornamented by puncturing with needles (i e. tattooing), as it is celebrated for the number of its artists skilled in that practice,"

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[13] Travels of Marco Polo, Book II, Chapter LXXVII.

In the Chinese annals of the Ming dynasty (A D. 1368-1643) we find recorded, in the section on San-fo-t'si under the year 1370, that the Emperor sent an envoy to command the presence of this country (i.e. San-fo-t'si) and in the next year the king, who was called *Ma-ha-la-cha-pa-la-pu* (Mahārāja prabhu), sent envoys with a letter written on gold leaf and carrying a tribute.[14] "After some time the Board of Revenue reported that a vessel with merchandise belonging to them had arrived at Ch'uan-chou and wanted to make it pay duties, the Emperor gave orders not to let it pay."

San-fo-t'si in the Chinese form of the name in which the maritime empire of Śrī Vishaya, or Śrī Vijaya, was referred to in their Annals. The Chōḷa emperor Rājēndra I claims in his *meyk kīrtti* to have conquered this empire and brought it to subjugation under the Chōḷas. It appears to have remained subordinate to them for a long time there-after.

It is said that *Ch'uan-chou-fu-chih*, the official chronicle of the place, contains the biography of scholar Shih-Kung-hsien who lived in the K'ang-tsi period of Ching dynasty and who is stated to have been a descendant out of Pa-lai-na, a king of Ceylon and to have lived at Ch'uan-chou[15] This king is usually identified with Parākrama Bāhu VI and according to the Annals of the Ming dynasty sent tribute to the Emperor of China[16] in A.D. 1433.

Verily as summed up by one scholar, the place was from Tang to early Ming times, i.e. from about the 7th to the beginning of the 15th centuries A.D. was "a real cosmopolis with a foreign settlement and visitors from all parts of the world" The Tamil people from South India would certainly have been numerous in the city of those days.

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[14] Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from the Chinese sources by W. P. Groeneveldt, reprinted in the 'Essays relating to Indo-China', Second series Trubner's Oriental Series, London 1887–Vol. I pp. 192-3

[15] Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 1933, N. F, 9, p.5,

[16] The circumstances under which this prince came to live in china for a while have been discussed by me in Alakēsvara.

5. The Hindu sculptures of South Indian origin in Ch'uan Chou.

It is interesting that this place still contains some relics of Hindu Sculpture of South Indian origin testifying to the existence in olden days of some South Indian Hindu temple. These are found in two of the temples there

One of them, known as the K'ai-yuan temple contains in the main hall, known as the Ta-hsing-pao-tieu, two pillars and the basement frieze (*vyāla-vari*) adorned with sculptures of Hindu mythology. These have been described by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in his article *Hindu Sculptures at Zayton* published on pp. 5-11 of the Ostasiatsche Zeitschrift, 1933 (N.F. 9). It is said, that according to the official chronicle of the temple, the main hall was built in the Ch'ui-kung period of the T'ang dynasty i.e. A.D. 686. This year happens to fall in the reign of the Pallava ruler Paramēśvara Varman I the father of the famous Rājasinha, whose authority extended upto the extremeties of his kingdom as even to include the thousand islands'. The hall appears to have been repaired in 1095 A.D. It is said to have been destroyed in 1155 A.D. and rebuilt subsequently though the exact time is not known.

The basement frieze contains the *Padma-pīṭha* a continuous lotus-petal moulding above and below with the *vyālavari motif* in between. These are characteristic features of the South Indian temple of the Chōḷa times.[17] Instead of the continuous figures of the head of the *Yāḷi* found in the frieze of the South Indian temples, we here have alternating figures of lion *imha* and man-lion (*nara-simha*)[18] in panels separated by turned pilasters.

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[17] See the description given on pp. 752-53 by Sri P.R. Srinivasan of the figures 20 A.C. in the plates to The Colas by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, published by the University of Madras. Revised second edition 1955.

[18] The nara-simha should not be confused with the avatāra of Vishṇu of that name in which we find the human body with a lion's face. Here we find the upper part is leonine very much resembling the purusha-mriga Śarabhēśvara).

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The two sculptured pillars are in the middle of the row of ten pillars in the northern verandah of the main hall and are made of stone. They are modelled on the pattern of similar columns found in the temples in South India But they are more ornamental. These are considered to have been modelled from wooden columns and thus would be the Chinese copiel of originals by Indian craftsmen. This view appears to find support two other pillars in the Taoist Hai-lung-Wang temple at the same town, which are considered to have been made as copies of the above two pillars with the only difference that the medallions with the mythological sculptures are absent.

The pillar is divided into five parts of equal height. The top, the middle and the bottom sections are shaped as cubical blocks. The two intervening sections between these three blocks are fluted into sixteen faces, with a small band in the middle running round as if binding all the sixteen faces together. Each face of the cubical block has a circular panel adorned with sculpture in low relief. Thus there are twenty-four medallions in all. Of these, twelve, representing one half, contain representations of flowers, like the lotus, some of them in conventional forms. Each of the other twelve panels contains a figure depicting some Hindu mythological incident or object, even though one or two of them cannot be interpreted quite satisfactorily.

The medallion on one of the top faces of eastern pillar depicts Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa, his four hands holding the discus (*chakra)* and the conch *(śaṅkha)* respectively on the right and left upper hands and holding the lower right and left hands in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Garuḍa is depicted in the traditional manner as a human being but with curved beak and two wings, kneeling (on the ground), his left leg lying flat and right leg bent at knee, and foot resting on ground.

The panel immediately below the one described above contains a sculpture Illustrating Gajēndra-mōksha. Crocodile holding one of the legs in its mouth, the elephant prays to Vishṇu with uplifited trunk holding a lotus. The depiction of Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa in the panel immediately above appears as if the lord is hastening to save the elephat in answer to its prayer.

Another panel illustrates Kṛishṇa felling the *Arjuna* tree. To keep the child Krishna from mischief, his mother once tied with a rope to a heavy wooden mortar; but the child crawaled dragging the mortar behind him, and passed through the narrow gap between two closely standing *arjnna* (*maruda* in Tamil) tree through which the mortar could not pass. The story is that the pull the child gave to the mortar felled the trees and released the two sons of Kubēra who under a former curse had remained transformed as the two trees.

Another panel shows Vishnu in his Narasimha *avatara*. Here the deity is depicted with ten arms holding the *śankha chakra* and other attributes, removing the entrails of Hiraṇya Kaśipu laid flat in his lap.

The famous incident of *Gōpikā-vastrāpaharana* in which Kṛishna as a boy stole away and hid in a nearby tree the garments of *Gopi* women which thay had kept on the banks of the yamunā while bathed in the river, and raturning them later on when the *Gōpis* came out of water and prayed to him with both hands folded above head. is also depicted in one of the panels. In yet another, we find the representation of Kṛishṇa as *Kāliyamardhana*. One more panel shows Vishṇu with the two goddessses, Lakshmī and Bhūdēvi. Here Vishṇu is seated on a *padma-pīṯha* holding *chakra* and *śaṅkha* in his upper hands and the mace (*gadhā*) in the lower left hand. The two *dēvīs* are depicted. one on either side, seated on a lotus springing from the central pedestal and holding a lotus in the right hand.

Only one representation of Śiva, as Bhairava, is found, depicted as standing on a *padma-piṭha*, four hands holding the trident, drum, *pāśa* and *kapāla*. the crescent moon and the *Gaṅgā* are represented hanging from the matted hair. He wears a cloth at waist.

It may also be noted that even though these are of South Indian origin some of the figures show unmistakable local in-luence.

Two other relics were found built into the brick walls of a 'paper-stove' belonging "to a little shrine by the way-side in north-eastern part of the city."

One of the panels shows an elephant worshipping a Śiva-liṅga under a tree entwined with creeper on the left side of the panel. The elephant, which appears fully caprisoned, places a lotus flower on top of the *liṅga*. The particular incident which this sculpture is intended to illustrate is not quite clear. Two legends can be cited as the subject of this sculpture. One relates to the city of Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. Once, Durvāsas, irascible sage, gave to Indra a garland which he, in turn, placed on the head of his elephant *airāvata*. The latter removed it with its trunk and trampled it under its feet. The sage cursed the elephant for this act of sacrilege to be born on the earth. The curse was revoked later when the elephant, born on the earth, worshipped the Siva-liṅga installed under the name af Sundara in a forest in the neighbourhood of Madurai by Indra for being worshipped by him.

This story is mentioned in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal purāṇam*. The other relates to the place Tiruvānaikkā (a suburb of Tiruchi-rapaḷḷi). A Śiva-linga in a forest was worshipped everyday by a white elephant with water and flowers. There was also a spider which wove a web over the *liṅga* to shelter it from the falling of dry leaves upon it. The elephant regarded the web as a nuisance and removed it every day at the time of worship. When this was repeated for some time the angered spider entered the elephant's trunk and the latter, distracted by the pain, dashed its trunk to and fro until it died, at the same time killing the spider, which became in its next birth the Choḷa King Śeṅkaṇṇān (Kōchchēngaṇṇān), who later, became canonised as a Śaiva saint. His story is mentioned in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

The other panel contains the representation of a cow worshipping a Śiva-liṅga, bathing the *liṅga* with her milk, making it flow by herself licking the teats of her udder. The *liṅga* is depicted on the left side of the panel while, on the right, is the representation of a sage, somewhat defaced, seated under a tree. This illustrates the life of the Śaiva saint *Chaṇḍeśvara*. He was a *brāhmaṇa* by birth. When as a boy, he saw a cowherd beating a pregnant cow, unable to bear the sight, he offered to tend the cows himself, While the cows were grazing, he used to enter into medidation of Śiva. He also worshipped a *liṅga* made of sand and mud. The cows became so much attached to him that they, of their own accord, gave milk, allowing it to ooze from their udders for worship. When this became known the villagers complained to his father, who saw for himself everything the next day hiding behind a tree. Enraged at this, the father beat his son, who, in turn, attacked and injured his father. It is said that Śiva and Pārvatī appeared before Chaṇḍēsvara and undertook to be his parents. This story is found in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

There is also another story in the same work, which may be considered to be the subject matter of this panel. A Śiva-yōgin, once coming south from the Kailāsa, to meet, his friend Agastya, saw one day a herd of cows surrounding and weeping over the body of its herdsman, Mūla by name, who had died of a snake-bite. Taking compassion on the cows the *yōgin*, by his powers, entered the body of the herdsman, hiding his own body nearby. The cows became joyful on seeing their master alive once again. The Śiva-Yōgin as Mūla, took the cows home in the evening. When the wife of the herdsman Mūla approached him, taking him for her husband, he repulsed her and entered into medidatian on Śiva. The matter went before the elders of the village who found that the body of Mūla contained the soul of some *yōgin*, and advised her accordingly. The *yōgin* in the body of the herdsman Mūla found to his consternation the next day that his own body was missing from the place where it was hidden the previous day. Finding that it was the will of Śiva that he should remain in the body of the herdsman, Mūla, he continued in the same body and became known as Tiru-Mular, the great Śiva-yōgin. He is known as a *Siddha* and to have composed the work *Tiru-Mantiram* of 3000 stanzes, one verse for every year. This story is also found in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

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It may be also noticed that the theme of a cow ejecting milk of its own accord and bathing a Śiva-liṅga is a popular one connected with many places in the Tamiḷ-nāḍu. Paṭṭīśvaram, near Kumbhakōṇam, which in former times was comprised in the city of Paḷaiyāṟai, the quondam capital of the Chōḷas, is said to have been connected with one of the daughters of the divine cow, Kāmadhēnu, and accordingly, has the other name Dhēnupurī. A similar story is mentioned in connection with another village Āvūr, which name itself means 'the village of cow' (about 5 miles from Paṭṭīśvaram), the presiding deity of the temple being known as Paśupatīśvara. The same story is associated with Gōkaranam in Tirugō-Karaṇam, a suburb of Pudukkoṭṭai.

The modelling of the cow and the workmanship of the tree would suggest that the sculptor was of local origin but influenced by the tradition of the art of South India. Similarly in the other panel, the details of the elephant and of the tree and creeper show unmistakably the local influence although the figures are in South Indian style.[19]

It is quite passible, though we may not be positive, that these sculptures formed part of the temple referred to in the present epigraph.

6. The Builder and the patron of the Temple

The epithet *Tavach-Chakkaravarttigal* by which the Sambandha-perumāḷ, who consecrated the installation of the god, was more popularly known indicates clearly that he was a divine, and perhaps the Pontiff presiding over a *maṭha*. The pontiff of the Siddhēśvara Maṭha in whose favour the gift mentioned in the Bhuvanēśvara bi-lingual inscription, noticed above, was made is referred to therein as *Tavach-Chakkaravarttigaḷ* or *Tapaś-Chakravartin*. His predecessor in office is mentioned therein as *Tava-rāja-munigaḷ* in the Tamil portion and as *Tapō-rāja-mahā-muni* in the Oriya part of the record. It is evident therefrom that Sambandha-p-perumāḷ also was a religious teacher and the head of a Śaiva *Maṭha*. It is interesting to note that a religious teacher of the Śaiva persuasion from Tamiḷ-nāḍu should have gone to China in the 13th century, resided in a *Maṭha* there, and consecrated a Śaiva temple. There should have been a considerable population and quite a large number of the Śaiva faith living in those parts in those days and there should have been regular intercourse between South India and China, for the above to have hapened.

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[19] These sculptures were noticed and reviewed by the present writer in Tamil in the year 1949 in the Dinasari Vāra Maḍal, the Weekly Magazine Supplement of the Tamil daily Dinasari, of which he was the editor in-charge. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri has considered these panels as belonging to the Chōḷa times and included the illustrations in the Revised Second Edition (1954) of his book 'The Cholas.'

From the tenor of the record it may be surmised that the teacher, not only performed the consecration of the temple, but was also responsible for its erection, finding the necessary resources. It is also stated therein that the installation of the God Śiva, i.e., the erection of the temple, was made in acccordance with the *firman* or written command, of the illustrious Chekachai Khan, for the bodily welfare of the illustrious Khan The mention of the terms *firman* and *Khan* would clearly imply that Chekachai Khan, whoever he might have been, was a Muslim and that he was a person of considerable authority administering a territory.

The inscription bears the date A. D. 1281. At that time Kublai Khan was the Emperor of China. He belonged to the Tartar family of the Mongolia to which belonged Chengis Khan and Timur, who made the entire middle world tremble in fear. The Mongols occupied China at the beginning of the century conquering the Sung Empire. In 1251, Mangu Khan became the Great Khan, and appointed his brother Kublai Khan as the Governor-General of China. Kublai was an able and energetic commander, ruler, and statesman. He subjugated the whole of the Sung Empire within a short time. Mangu died in 1259 and Kublai became the Great Khan in 1260. From that time onwards upto his death in 1294, he was the most celebrated monarch whose fame had spread far and wide attracting to his Court many persons of various types from all parts of the world. It was during his reign that Marco Polo, went to China

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and stayed at the court of Kublai Khan for seventeen years becoming a great favourite of the Khan, who having lived in China for many years together had become more a Chinese in his habits and outlook. Chinese contacts spread rapidly in this period to the Indonesian Archipelago and even to India, in a measure. We are told that Chinese soldiers were in the service of the Ceylon King in 1266, A. D. and that considerable numbers of Chinamen were found in the parts on the West Coast of India.

According to Marco Polo Kublai Khan had four wives allowed by the Muslim law and had twenty-two sons through them. But the Chinese Annals mention only ten sons, while the Hammer's Genealogical Table gives the names of twelve sons.[20] This has led Col. Yule to remark: "it is very probable that xxii was an early clerical error in the text of Polo for xii".

It was customary in those days for the princes of royal blood to be posted as Governors of provinces and sent there. Kublai Khan also appears to have sent some of his sons to different provinces to rule there as kings with the title of *Wing* Marco Polo himself mentions the names of five such princes in different parts of his work.

Kublai Khan is also said to have nominated as his successor his eldest son whose name is given variously in different versions. Yule gives the name as Chimkin. Others write the name as Ching-Kin, Chen-Kin, Chen-Chin Tchengkin and Tchenkin. One writter[21] has given the name as Chengis and states he was named likewise after his great ancester the celebrated Chengis Khan or Jengis Khan. But the majority of the authorities have only Chim Kin.

Marco Polo says that the prince was "designed to inherit the dignity of the Grand Khan with the Government of the Empire and the nomination was confirmed to him during the lifetime of

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[20] Col. Yule and Henri Cordier : Book of Ser Marco Polo, Vol. I, pp. 360-62. Further discussion here on this subject is based mainly on the information given there.:

[21] The Travels of Marco Polo, ,the edition of Messrs. Dent & Co., London, 1907 p. 165.

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his father. It was not, however, his fate to survive him, but leaving a son whose name is Temur (Timur), he, as representative of his father. is to succeed to the dominion''. The prince, the Eldest son, is said to have had a separate palace and an establishment of his own.

The story of his nomination to the throne by his father is mentioned by other writers also.

Wassaf, the Muslim historian of Shiraz, also writes of this prince : ''When Kublai approached his 70th year, he desired to raise his eldest son Chim Kin to the position of his representative and declared successor during his own lifetime; so he took counsel with Chiefs in view to giving the Prince a share in his authority and a place of the Imperial Throne. The chiefs who are the Pillars of Majesty and Props, of the Empire represented that His Majesty's proposal to invest his son, during his own lifetime, with Imperial authority, was not in accordance with preceedents and Institutes (*Yasa*) of the world-conquering Padshah Chenghis Khan; but still they would execute a solemn document securing the Khanship to Chim Kin and pledging themselves to lifelong obedience and allegiance to him. It was, however, the Divine Fiat that the intended successor should predecease him who bestowed the nomination. The Dignitaries of the Empires then united their voices in favour of Timur, the son of Chim Kin.''

Mr. Cordier quotes the following comments of the Rev. W.S. Ament, ''The historians give good reasons for their regard for Chen-Chin. He had from early years exhibited great promise and had shown great proficiency in the military art: in government, history. mathematics and the Chinese classics. He was well acquainted with the condition and numbers of the inhabitants of Mongolia and China, and with the topography and commerce of the Empire (Howorth). He was much beloved by all, except by some of his father's own ministers whose lives were anything but exemplary. That Kublai had full confidence in his son is shown by the fact that he put the collecting of taxes in his hands. The native historians represent him as economical in the use of

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money and wise in the choice of companions. He carefully watched the officers in his charge, and would tolerate no extortion of the people. After droughts, famines or floods he would enquire into the condition of the people and liberally supply their needs, thus starting them in life again. Polo ascribes all these virtues to the Khan himself. Doubtless he possessed them in greater or less degree, but father and son were one in all these benevolent enterprises."

As already noticed, this prince did not survive his father the Grand Khan. He is stated to have died in the month of January in A.D. 1284.

According to Hammer's Genealogical Table, the eldest son of Kublai Khan was named Jurji and he had a son called Ananda. "The Chinese authorities of Goubil and Panthier call him Turchi or Torchi, i. e. Dorje, 'Noble Stone.' the Tibetean name of a sacred Buddhist emblem in the form of a dumb-bell representing a *Vajra* or Thunderbolt. Probably Dorje died early."[22]

But Marco Polo, Wassaf and other authorities name Chim Kin as the eldest son. We thus find no agreement among the scholars on the same. Col. Yule suggests that Jurji might have died early and the nomination of Chim Kin[23] might have taken place. If so the date of the death of Jurji is not known.

Anyway. it is quite possible that Jurji, the eldest son, was the person mentioned in the bi-lingual inscription now under discussion. The Chinese terminate all their monosyllables either with a vowel or with a nasal. It is therefore quite possible that the name Chekachai as written in Tamil (Jagajai, Jegasai,

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[22] Teimur, according to the same authority, was the third son of Chim-Kin; but the eldest was Kambala, squinted, the second Tarmah (probably Tarmubala for Dharmabala, Dharmapalu a Buddhist Sanskrit name) was ricketly in constitution and on the death of the old Khan (1294) Teimur was unanimously named to the throne, after some opposition from Kambala which was put down by the decided bearing of the great soldier Bayan.

[23] Western scholars who have studied the subject state that they were not aware of what the name Chim-Kin meant.

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Chegasai or Chegajai) was the nearest phonetical form of the Chinese name which had been transcribed as Jurji or Turchi by the European scholars.[24] Perhaps the Chinese part of the record will be helpful in the matter. But that has to be studied by a person well versed in the Chinese language and the Chinese history, In the existing circumstances that has to be attempted only at an official level.

The inscription states that the installation of God Śiva was made by the Teacher in accordance with the *firman* of the Khan and for the bodily welfare of the Khan. It will be evident that the Khan was unwell or was laid up with some illness and that the erection of the Śiva temple was made probably as a propitation to hasten the recovery. This appear curious and baffling, the Khan being a Muslim. Perhaps the traces of image-worship practised in the Buddhist religion had not completely disappeared and the embers of the former faith were still burning in him.

Perhaps the *tavach chakkaravartigaḷ* himself took the initiative by approaching the Khan with his proposal for the erection of the Śiva temple praying for the welfare of the person of the Khan and got his consent and the *firman*. If so, it will only testify to the influence of the religious teacher even in that far-off land and also that he had some other ulterior motive to placate the Khan by pleasing him and gain some object.

7. The King of Tamilnadu who sought the help of China

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In the last quarter of the 13th century there was very active and brisk exchange of embassies between the Chinese Court and the South Indian powers. The restlessness of Kublai Khan and his vanity coupled with the expanding activities of the Pāṇḍyas of South India appear to have brought about the above exchange. Such embassies which came between the years 1278 and 1292 have been discussed by Rockhill with citations from

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Kublai Khan was the younger son of Ogatai' who also was the younger son of the great Chengis Khan. The eldest son of Chengis Khan was named Jagatai; but he was superseded by his younger brother. Thus Jagatai becomes the paternal uncle of Kublai Khan. Perhaps the eldest son of Kublai Khan bore a similar name.

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the Chinese Annals of the period, the *Yuan-Sahib* and this has succinctly been summarised by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri on pp. 150-56 of his *Foreign Notices of South India*. One thing becomes clear therefrom. The legitimate ruler of a Kingdom in the Tamilnādu was then living in hiding as a refuge fearing for his very life and that he appealed to the Emperor of China for help to regain his lost position.

"In the 7th moon of A. D. 1279 missions from Ma'bar and Annam (Chēn-Ch'eng) arrived at the Mongol Court and presented the Emperor with a live elephant and a rhinoceros. Consequently Yang Ting-pi, the able lieutenant of So-tu[25] and presently Commander- in Chief in Kuang-tang with the title of *Daruga*, was appointed Imperial Commissioner in the 12th moon of the year, i.e., early in 1280, with orders to proceed to Kulam (Quilon) to invite its ruler Pi-na-ti to acknowledge Kublai Khan as his liege lord and to send an envoy to China.

In the meanwhile, when Qang Ting-pi was still abroad, in the 8th moon (early autumn) of 1280, missions arrived at the Mongol Court from Annam and Ma'bar carrying memorials from their rulers to the Emperor. They presented many valuables as tribute and, as in 1279, an elephant and a rhinoceros. In their memorials, they recognised the Emperor as their overlord. subscribing themselves 'Your Servants.' This mission had been sent spontaneously by the legitimate ruler of Ma'bar (before the arrival of Yang Tingpi in Ma'bar) as he was most anxious to secure the protection of the Emperor against his domestic foes who were depriving him of all his power and possessions. Evidently he thought that his recognition of the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor might pave the way and expedite the early achievement of his object. The leader of the mission was one named Cha-ma-li-tung.

Hardly had Yang Ting-pi returned from his mission to Kulam than he was ordered to proceed once again to Kulam and the adjacent countries. This journey is narrated in the *Yuan Shih* as follows :

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[25] Peraps the same person referred to as Sogatn, Later on in the section described as relation of Kubli khan with Annam and Chauka.

"In the 10th moon (of the year 1280) the rank of Envoy to Kulam was given to Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya and he was sent, in company with Yang Ting-pi, to summon (the other countries adjacent to Kulam) to come to court. They put to sea from Ch'uam-chou in the first moon of the 18th year, (about February 1281) and after a voyage of three moons arrived in the island of Seng-kia-yeh (Ceylon) Chēng-chēn and the other sailors persuaded them, in view of the contrary winds and their provisions running short, to make for Ma'bar, whence Kulam could be reached by a land route which they believed existed. In the fourth moon they landed from their junk at the port of Hsin-tsun (in Ma'bar). *Ma-yin-ti*, the Minister of State (*Vezir*) of the country, said to the Chinese Officials: You are most welcome. Whenever our ships have been to Ch'uan chou your officials have done their best to spare us all trouble and expense. What business has brought you here ?' Yang Ting-pi and the others explained the purpose of their mission and all about the supposed route to Kulam. Ma-yin-ti requested them, so the score of not fully understanding what they said, to see his Assistant (or Secretary) *Pu-a-li* and to him they told about the reported road and their business.

"In the 5th moon two men came stealthily to the envoys' lodgings and keeping the people away (so that they could not be over-heard) said that in view of their evident and sincere friendliness, they begged them to convey the following message (from the legitimate king of Ma'bar) to the Court of China. "I am sincerely desirous of becoming the subject of the Emperor. My envoy Cha-ma-li-ting has been received at your court. My Great Pi-shē-chih has gone to the Suan-tan ("Lord of a Kingdom") and asked for a change. The Suan tan has requested my gold and my silver my lands and my property. He has laid hold of my wives and seeks to put me to death. I have only been able to escape by deceiving him. At the present moment the Suan-tan and the brothers have met, all five of them together in one place, and are deliberating about fighting. When they heard of the coming of the Imperial envoys to raise me to the rank of a Feudal Prince of the Empire, they gave it out that his country is poor and lowly. This is false, all the gold, pearls and precious things of the Muslim countries come from here and all the Muslims come here to trade. All the kingdoms (of Southern India) will show their submissiveness if Ma'bar has once done so. My envoy (cha-ma-le-ting) bore a most submissive letter (in this sense)."

"Ho-sa-erh-hai-ya and Yang Ting-pi having been prevented by contrary winds from going by sea to Kulam (and being detained in Ma'bar), Ho-sa-erh-hai-ya went back to the Court of China to explain matters. (As a result of this) when the northerly winds had set in, in the 11th moon (of 1281) the Emperor sent a messenger ordering Yang Ting-Pi to proceed alone (to Quilon)."

The name of the Chōḻa envoy written by the Chinese as *Cha-ma-li-ting* has been restored by previous scholars as Jamaluddin. Similarly, the Assistant to whom the Minister of State of Ma'bar directed Yang Ting-pi and his associates for further talks referred to as Cu-a-li has been restored by them as Abu Ali. According to the restoration, these two dignitaries would be Muslims. This is highly improbable It is possible that some Muslims might have come from foreign lands and stayed here for trade and other purposes; but their stay would have been temporary or quasi-permanent without taking roots, At any rate we do not know whether there were Muslim officers. especially at the top level in the Tamil kingdoms of South India in those days. No such mention is made of them either in literature or in epigraphy of the period. As such they should have been only some Tamil or South Indian names or titles. The description of the Assistant to the Minister of States Pu-a-li, might be either his designation like *Puravu-Vari* or *Puravu* indicating the Officer-in-Charge of Taxation, Revenue and Customs, or his official title like *Pālaiyūṉ-uḍaiyāṉ* the owner (or proprietor) of the village of Palaiyūr, Very likely it was the former, *puravu vari*. We shall revert to the name of the Chōḻa envoy, *Cha-ma-li-ting* later on.

Missions from Ma'bar and other places in South India arrived at the Mongol Court in the years 1282, 1283, 1284 and so on. 'In 1282, possibly after the return of Yang Ting-pi to China, another officer Uigur-I-he:-mi shih, who already in 1272 and 1273 had carried successfully missions beyond the sea, and who at the time was assisting So-tu (Sogatu) ? then tesident in Chan-Chĕng (Annam) in establishing Chinese authority over that country, was detached from that duty by order of the Emperor and sent beyond the sea to Seng-kia-la (Ceylon)" and other places. This officer was sent at least once again in 1287 to Ma'bar. At the end of these missions the Emperor, as a reward for his services abroad, raised him to the rank of Minister of State and made him Governor-General of Fu-kien.

It will be seen from the above that the emissaries of the fugitive ruler met the envoys of China just about the time when the consecration of this Śiva temple in China took place as mentioned in the present record. The envoy whom the fugitive ruler sent to the Chinese Court had already reached there, nearly ten months earlier,

The significance of the above will become clear and important if the identity of the fugitive ruler, who appealed to China for help, is fixed on.

8. The Fugitive King could not have been Kulasekhara Pandya

The legitimate King of Ma'bar who sent a secret message to the emissary of Kublai Khan must have been, according to Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the Pāṇḍya ruler Kulaśēkhara.[26] He is Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara who ruled for more than forty years from A D. 1268 to 1311. Perhaps the above conclusion was arrived at in consideration of the following circumstances :-

The entire Tamil country was then under the rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. The Imperial Chōḻas of Tañjāvūr, who had been ruling earlier the entire Tamiḻ-nāḍu and the regions beyond, inclusive of those in South-East Asia, were no longer in power. It is also known that the reign of Kulaśēkhara, who was then the important Pāṇḍya monarch, ended in disaster, According to Wassaf, the great Muslim historian of Shiraz, Kulaśēkhara had two sons, the elder named Sundara Pāṇḍya. who was legitimate, his mother being the wedded queen of the monarch, and the younger named Vīra Pāṇḍya, who was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses and a favourite of the king. "As Tiru Pandi (Vīra Pāṇḍya) was remarkable for his shrewdness and intrepidity, the ruler nominated him as his successor, His brother Sundara Pāndi, being engaged at this supersession, killed his father, in a Moment of rashness and undutifulness, towards the close of the year 709 H (1310 A.D.)"[27]

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[26] Foreign Notices of South India, p. 28

Marco Polo. who came to South India in *circa* 1292 A. D. on his return voyage from China, mentions in his *Travels*[28] that 'there were five Kings who were own brothers and that Sonder Bandi Devar, one of the five royal brothers was the crowned King. This King is Jaṭāvarman Sundara pāṇḍya who began his rule in A.D. 1276 and ruled for 17 years, i.e. upto A D. 1292-93. Wassaf also refers to him in his *History*,[29] when he writes at the beginning of his narration of the incidents preceding the murder of Kulaśēkhara as follows: "A few years since, the Devar was Sunder Pandi, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country'' The term *Suan-tau*, by which the person who appropriated the properties and possessions of the legitimate ruler of Ma'bar is referred to in the Chinese Annals, as seen above, and which has been rendered by previous scholars as "Lord of the Kingdom", has to be taken as the name of the person, instead of as a general epithet, and restored as Sundara. As already pointed out by Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, he can only be this Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (who ascended the throne in A.D. 1276).

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27. The History of India as told by its own Historians, by Elliot and Dawson, Vol, III pp. 52-53.

28. Travels of Marco Polo, Book III Chapter XX.

29, Op. cit. p. 52.

After mentioning Sondar Pandi Devar as the ruler of Ma' bar, Marco Polo himself in his description of Kāyal (variously spelt as Kael or Cail and the like in different versions) says that it was governed by Ashar (also written as Asciar or Astiar in other versions), one of the brothers, kings of the country of Ma'bar.[30] In one version he is described as the eldest of the five brothers. Ashar is considered as a corruption of Sēkhar and indicating only Kulaśēkhara.

Evidently all these were considered as pointing out that Kulaśēkhara should have suffered an eclipse, at least temporarily, in the middle of his reign, most probably about the time when the envoys of China, Yang Ting-pi and another, landed in the Tamil country in A.D 1281. But the available evidences not support the above assumption. On the other hand they seem to point out quite a different situation, indeed exactly opposite to the above.

Kulaśēkharadēva, whom Wassaf refers to as Kales Dewan, has been described by the Muslim historian in glorious terms; "Kales Dewan, the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country, nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth in as much that in the country of the city of Mardi (Madurai) there were 1200 crores of gold deposited".[31]

From his numerous inscriptions found all over the Tamilnāḍu we find that he had a reign of not less than forty-four years. He had also the title 'who took all countries' *Emmaṇḍaḻamum koṇḍaruḷiya*). He had the epithets, 'who conquered the Chēra' (*chēraṇai-Veṉṟa*) and 'who captured (Quilon) Kollam' (*Kollam-Koṇḍa*). The former is found in his inscriptions as early as the eighth year of his reign[32]. He is known to have invaded the island of Ceylon and conquered it, as mentioned in the Ceylon Chronicle *Mahāvamsā*.[33] "Then there arose a great famine in the land (Ceylon). Then the five brethren, who governed the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, sent to this Island, at the head of an army, a great minister of much power, who was a chief among the Tamils known as Āriya Chakkavatti, *albeit* he was not an Āriya. And when he had landed and laid waste the country on every side, he entered the great and noble fortress, the city of Śubhagiri. And he took the venerable Tooth-relic and gave it unto the King Kulaśēkhara. Parākrama Bāhu thereupon visited the Pāṇḍyan Court in person, adopted perssvasive ways and negotiated with Kulaśēkara for the return of the Tooth-relic, returned to the island and ruled at Polonnaruva, no doubt under the protection of the Pāṇḍyas. The minister and general, Ārya Chakravartti, who led the expedition on behalf of his master, is perhaps the same person with the personal name of Matitungaṉ and a resident of Chakravarttinallūr, a village in Śevvirukkai nāḍu of the Pāṇḍya country.[34] The same officer is mentioned in an inscription from Tiruppullāṇi, dated in the 37th regnal year of the same king[35]

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[30] Ibid, Chapter XXV.

[31] Op. cit, p. 52.

[32] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy No. 126 of 1907, also the Report for the year 1927, Part II, paragraph 42.

This Pāṇḍyan expedition to Ceylon is said to have taken place in *circa* 1284. A.D. Parākramabāhu, who visited the Pāṇḍya court in person, has been identified by the historions[36] of Ceylon with Parākramabāhu III who began his reign in A.D. 1287. The intervening period of two years (A.D. 1285-86) has been noted as *interregnum*. This expedition to Ceylon should have been undertaken by Kulaśēkhara shortly after the arrival of the Chinese envoys in Ma'bar. These will clearly show that Kulaśēkhara should have been very powerful at that time. It may even be said that preparations for the expedition should have commenced some one or two years earlier. Then, such preparations would have been underway at the time when the

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[33] Mahāvamsa, edited by Turnour and Wijesimha, Part II, pp. 314-5; also Chulavamsa, Chapter 95.

[34] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1936-37, Part II para 40.

[35] South Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Vol, VIII, No. 396.

[36] A Concise History of Ceylon by C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitāna published by the University of Ceylon, 1961.

Chinese envoys arrived there. According to one of his inscriptions[37] the King was in his camp at Kaṇṇamūr in the 15th year of his reign i.e. in 1282 A.D. It would have been very difficult for a person who had been living in hiding after having lost every world by possession and fearing for his very life in 1281 A.D. to have become so powerful and over-bearing immediately thereafter. So, the legitimate ruler who tried to obtain the help of China should be some one else.

That the fugitive ruler should have been other than a Pāṇḍya can be inferred from the Chinese account itself. It is stated therein that, according to the fugitive ruler in his own words, "Sundara and the brothers have met, all the five of them, together in one place, and are deliberating about fighting". Thus indicating clearly that he was not one of the five. The wording would have been certainly different if he had been Kulaśēkhara or even a Pāṇḍya prince, otherwise, So he should be of some other family.

If the royal refugee had really been Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara he should have remained likewise, stripped of all his possessions inclusive of his wives, for at least two or three years. This would have realy become a civil war between the Pāṇḍyas, with Kulaśēkara remaining alone, and the other co-regents joining together, thus with an imbalance on his side Further it is also very unlikely that his harem wauld have been appropriated by the other Kings who were only his cousins. Both Wassaf and Marco Polo would certainly have mentioned the incident if it had really taken place. On the other hand, the description of the King given by Wassaf gives us an impression quite contrary to the above.

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[37] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, No. 328 of 1923.

[38] Marco Polo, in his description of Kayal writes of Ashar as follows :
"As I told you before, there are in this great province of Maabar five crow-
ned kings, who are all own brothers born of one father and one mother, and
this king is one of them. Their mother is still living. And when they disa-
gree and go forth to war against one another their mother throws herself
between them to prevent their fighting. And should they persist in desiring
to fight, she will take a knife and threaten that if they will do so she will
cut off the paps that suckled them and rip open the womb that bore them
and so perish before their eyes. In this way hath she full many a time bro-
ught them to desist. But when she dies it will most assuredly happen that
hey will fall out and destroy one another" (op. cit. Book III, Chapter
XXV.

9. The Place of Landing by The Chinese Envoys

The Chinese Annal itself is in a way helpful in deciding the identity of the fugitive ruler. The ship which sailed from Ceylon for Ma'bar arrived at the port of Hsin-tsum. In as much as the envoys are said to have sailed for Ma'bar, scholars have thought that the port was perhaps Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam. But there does not seem to be any resemblance even phonetically, between the two names. Ma'bar is the name of the east coast of the Tamilnādu extending from Kumari in the south to Nellore in the north. Ma'bar is an Arabic word signifying 'Passage or Ferry' and was applied to this part of country most frequently by travellers and merchants from Arabia and the Persion Gulf in as much as it served as the place for transhipment of their merchandise to the ships trading with the eastern countries. Wassaf says that, "Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore) nearly three hundred *Parasangs* along the coast." Anyway it may be taken that the name indicated in those days the three regions of Pāṇḍya, and the Chōḷa and the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalams. Considering that the emissaries from China, who had come to Ceylon on their way to Quilon, had to change their course and arrive in Ma'bar, in view of the contrary winds and their provisions running short, with the intention of continuing their journey to Quilon by a land route, and that even after having waited at the place of their disembarkation in Ma'bar for nearly a year, one of them had to proceed again by sea to reach Quilon, the other emissary having in the meantime returned to China to report the matter to the Emperor and obtain his further orders, it may be concluded that the place of their landing should have been somewhere in the northern portion of Ma'bar whence there was no good and direct land route to Quilon. It is true that there existed in these days many ports, big and small, on the east coast of the Tamil country in the Chōḷa and the Toṇḍai

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At best this can be treated only as a gossip retold by the traveller intended more to explain the existence of five crowned kings simultaneously in the Pāṇḍya Kingdom, which might have been considered a curiosity by others. Perhaps he was inspired by a similar story heard by him at the Mongol court connected with an incident in the life of Chengis Khan, grandfather of his patron; Kublai Khan. Even if the account were to be taken as true, it will only indicate that on such catastrophe as mentioned in the Chinese Annals had happened to him upto that time.

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maṇḍalams. In fact such ports existed almost every fifteen or twenty miles where a river or its branch or a rivulet of some magnitude and length joined in the sea; every one of them served as a port at sometime or other of history. Of these only two places can be considered as resembling phonetically, even remotely, to Hsin-tsun.

One is the modern Śadras or Śaduraṅgapaṭṭiṇam, the correct name of which was Śaduravāśagaṉ paṭṭiṇam, in the Chingleput taluk of the Chingleput district (about 9 miles to the south of the famous Māmallapuram). It lies on the sea coast where the river Pālār joins the sea, dividing itself, near its mouth into many branches. It is well-known that in the later period it flourished as an emporium under the Dutch. It appears to have flourished likewise even in the earlier days. An inscription of the early Vijayanagara period (A. D. 1376) from Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam registers an agreement made by the *Ūravar*, the *Paradēśis* and the *Nānādēśis* of Śaduravāśagaṉpaṭṭiṇam binding themselves to pay the temple of Dēśiviṭaṅka-p-perumāḷ at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam[39] every month specified rates of import on all articles of merchandise[40]. Another inscription, from the place and dated two years earlier, registers the levy by the Kaikkōḷars of Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam of a consolidated amount of 70 *Paṇam* per annum on the clothes taken out to Paṭṭiṇam for sale[41]. The Paṭṭiṇam here referred to is Śaduravāśsagaṉpaṭṭiṉam itself. It may also be noted that a near-by village Vāyalūr, situated on the the banks of one of the branches of the Pālār, wherefrōm an inscription of Pallava Narasimhavarman II *alais:* Rājasimha has been discovered, was known in the early days as Tiruppilavāyil[42]. The term *pilaivāyil* means "entrance to the nether-world" and indicated the port of embarkation for South-East Asia in those days as I have shown elsewhere[43].

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[39] It may be noted that Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam is only at a distance of about a mile from Sadras as also from Māmallapuram

[40] South Indian Temple Inscriptions edited by T. N. Subramaniam, Vol. I No. 466.

[41] Ibid, No 465.

[42] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII

[43] T. N. Subramaniam, 'The Pallavas of Kāñchi in South-East Asia.

Another place is Śōpuram or Tiruchchōpuram, situated a little to the south of Cuddalore, Old Town[44]. The Siva temple at the place has been sung in a *padigam* by the Śaiva saint Tirunāvukkaraśar, or Appar, of the Tēvāram trio. Even though it is now a separate village, in inscriptions of the medieval period it is mentioned as part of a bigger village Tyāgavalli-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, named after the Chōla queen Tyāgavalli[45]. Cuddalore nearby, the correct name of which in Tamil is Kūḍalūr, had a fort, Fort St. David, in the days of the English East India Company. Śōpuram is also mentioned as an emporium by the Greek geographer Ptolemy in. the second century of the Christian Era under the name '*Sabouras*.' The word śō in Tamil means both a fortress and Śāṇitapuram, the capital of the *Asura* king Bāṇa, the grandson of Mahābali. The name Pilavāyil of the village Vāyalūr mentioned above was only the Tamil rendering of the name Sopatma, (Sanskrit Śō-vartma meaning 'the roadway' or passage' to the Śōṇitapura mentioned as one of three important port-towns on the Coramandel Coast by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythaerean Sea*. It will be evident therefrom that Śōpuram also flourished as an emporium even eighteen hundred years ago. Perhaps it continued likewise even at the time of the inscription now under study.

Yet another place is Chintāmaṇi included in the village Karuṅgāḷi, in the Saidapet Taluk of the Chingleput District. In an inscription[46] of the time of the early Chōḷa King 'Maduraikoṇḍa parakēsarivarman,' Parāntaka I, the place was known as Tiruppakavaṉtuṟai. But it is not known whether the place continued to floursih as an important seaport at least in the period we are concerned.

Of these three places, the first and the last are in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, while the middle one is in the Naḍunāḍu (the middle country), Which of these could have been the place of landing by the Chinese envoys can be decided only after knowing the identity of the Minister of State whom the Chinese envoys met and also of the person who was an ally or helper on whom the refugee king had very much relied and who had, in the meanwhile, turned against him and joined Sundara Pāṇḍya.

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[44] T. N. Subramaniam. South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Vol. I, No 1.

[45] South Indian Inscriptions, Vol, No. 129.

[46] Indian Archaoology, 1960-61 A Review, Page 45. time 26; see also Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy No. 280 of 1960-61; South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XIII, No.

10. The Political Condition of South India it that time

At that time, both the Chōḷa and the Toṇḍai maṇḍalms were included in the Pāṇḍya Kingdom. But previously these had formed part of the Chōḷa Empire. The last Chōḷa King of Tañjāvūr was Rajendra III who, having ascended the throne in 1246 A.D., ruled for at least thirty-three years, i.e upto 1278-79 A.D. At the time when he ascended the throne, the Chōḷa rule extended over both the Chōḷa and Toṇḍai manḍalams, inclusive of Nellore in the North; but in the latter half of his reign, after *circa* 1260 A.D. his inscriptions are found only in the Chōḷa-nāḍu proper and not in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, thus clearly indicating that by that time he had lost control over the northern portion of his Kingdom. The Chōḷa rule in the Chōḷa-nāḍu itself came to an end sometime in 1279 A.D. or shortly thereafter, i.e., just before the arrival of the Chinese envoy Yang Ting-pi in Ma'bar. Thus, the Pāṇḍyan occupation of the Chōḷa country was, then, a recent event.

But the Pāṇḍya expansion in the north was not of recent origin. It commenced more than sixty years earlier with the accesion of Maṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya to the throne at Madurai in 1216 A.D. It was in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III. His successor Rājarāja III also ascended the Chōḷa throne in the same year.[47]

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[47] One other Chōḷa, Rājādhirāja III also, counts his regnal years from the same year; but he was not in Tamiḷ-naḍu. His inscription are confined to Drākshārāma (in the Rāmachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh) or Jananāthapuram as it was then known, the capital of the northern region of the Chōḷa Empire of the Vēngi country. He was the successor, perhaps a grandson, of the Chōḷa Emperor Rājadhirāja II (of the Imperial line of Tañjāvur who was driven out of the Tamil country by his rival Kulōttuṅga III. Both of them, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga III, did not come in the regular line of succession to the Choḷa

Towards the close of his reign, Kulōttuṅga III suffered a great defeat at the hands of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. According to Pāṇḍya inscriptions, the defeat of the Chōḷa was complete and he had to flee the Kingdom, but the Pāṇḍya called him back and gave him the Kingdom. Kulōttuṅga did not survive this for long.

The reign of Rājarāja III also commenced under adverse circumstances. The main currents in the history of the country in the period between the date of his accession and the date of the present record may be summerised. The Chōḷas were exposed to assaults on all sides. The Pāṇḍyas in the south and the Hoysaḷas in the west had by now risen to the rank of great powers led by rulers of exceptional merits. The rivalry between these two new powers was such that neither of these would let the ancient Chōḷa kingdom fall a pray to the other. This was the only chance of survival of the Chōḷa power. In the north-west the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi had given way before the newly risen power of the Sēunas. In the north-east the Telugu Chōḍas of Nellore occupied a strategic position. Their relations with the Hoysaḷas on the one side and with the Kākatiyas on the other gave them so important a place that it cannot be ignored. Nearer home the Kāḍava chieftains of Kūdalūr and Sēndamaṅgalam were not slow to take advantage of the growing weakness of the central authority.

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throne. Finding that there was no regular and proper heir in the male line to succeed him. Rājarāja II brought for selection from Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōlapuram some Princes who had come in the female line. Rājādhirāja II came out successful in the test and he was crowned King after three years of probation (Ephigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28). Kulōttuṅga III, an unsuccessful candidate, did not accept the selection and considered himself the rightful claimant. He left the Chōḷa country and with the assistance of Tribhuvana-malla Mallidēva, the Niḍugal Chōḷa chief in the Karnāṭaka area and of some member of the Nānādēśi organisation crowned himself as the Chōḷa King at the same time when Rājādhirāja II was crowned in the Tamil country (Ibid, pp. 268-76). But he was not able to make any headway in getting possession of the throne, as there was a strong government in the Chōḷa Kingdom at that time. He had to wait for another twelve years to realise his object. His reign of the Chōḷa country is reckoned from 1178 A. D. Rājādhirāja II, when driven out by his rival, took refuge in the Vēṅgi country and stayed there as the titular head of the State with the assistance of the Kākatiyas of Warangal and also of the erstwhile subordinates upto 1216 A. D. covering practically the entire reign period of the Kulottunga III. (South Indian Temple Inscriptions, edited by T. N. Subramaniam, Vol, III Part II.

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The relations of Rājarāja III with Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya were strained from the very beginning of his rule. He tried to throw off the yoke of the Pāṇḍya suserainty. Sundara once again led an expedition against the Chōḷa country and reduced Rājarāja to his former position of a vassal, inspite of the help he received from Hoysaḷa Vīra Narasimha. But, the greatest misfortune of Rājarāja was the capture of his person along with his retinue when he was on his way to the Karnāṭaka country to join his ally, by his erstwhile subordinate, the Kāḍava chief Kōpperuñjinga, who kept the Chōḷa in prison at his capital Śēndamaṅgalam. The Hoysala ruler, Vīra Narasimha, had to interfere again in the affairs of the Chōḷa country, by sending his army, and restoring Rājarāja to his throne. A detachment of the Hoysala army which had been left behind stationed in the Chōḷa country, became a permanent feature thereafter and Kaṇṇanūr,[48] a *Koppa*, became the eastern capital of the Hoysala kingdom, where prince Vīra Sōmēśvara was stationed.

The aggressive policy of the Pāṇḍyas which had been in full for sometime got livened up with the accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I to the Madurai throne in 1251 A.D, In the intervening period Kōpperuñjiṅga tried to improve his position. He extended his activities in the North covering the Telugu Chōḍa kingdom of Nellore and even as far as Drākshārāma in the Godavari district, where Rājādhirāja III continued to hold 'the Chōḷa court in exile.' evidantly with the help of Kākaṭiyas. In the course of these campaigns Kōpperuñjinga had to clash with the Kākatīyas, whose supremacy he had to acknowledge in the north. Rājendra III had already became the co-regent of the Chōḷa kingdom. His relations with his *māmadi* (father-in-law), the Hoysala king Vīra Sōmēśvara, became so much strained that each had to consider the other his enemy.

It was at this time that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I ascended the throne at Madurai. Under him the Pāṇḍya Empire reached its splendour. Practically the whole of Southern

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43. Kaṇṇanūr is the modern Samayapuram close to the Railway Station of Bikshāṇḍārkōvil on the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi. Villupuram Chord line.

India upto Nellore and Cuddapah was brought under Pāṇḍya supremacy. Kāñchīpura became a secondary capital of the Empire (in the north), while the island of Ceylon in the south was also included in the Empire. According to his *meyk-kīrtti* he 'compelled the warlike Chōḻa of ancient lineage to pay him tribute', and, afterwards, he, 'attacked the Hoysaḷas in the region of the Kāvērī, besieged them in a fortress and inflicted a crushing defeat on them.

Sōmēśvara did not survive this for long. The Hoysaḷa kingdom also became divided between his two sons, the eastern portion containing the plains in Tamil country went to the share of Vīra Rāmanātha and the western portion containing the plateau of the Karnāṭaka country went to the share of his half-brother Vīra Narasimha. This division seems to have taken place even in the lifetime of their father.

Some attempts were made to patch up the difference between the Chōḻa and the Hoysala. It is unnecessary to go into the strength of their alliance or of the competition between the Hosyaḷa and the CKāḍava and hōḻa, all of these and the Telugu Chōḍa of Nellore, and the latter and Kākaṭīya or of the relations of each of these with the Pāṇḍya. But it may be mentioned here that only one ruler, the Bāṇa of the *Magadhai-maṇḍalam*, escaped disaster from the above tumultuous explosion. That was perhaps due to the fact that he changed sides at the right moments. The *Magadhai maṇḍalam* also known as the *Magadha* country or the *Makara* Kingdom, consisted of portions of the modern districts of Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot, with Āṟagaḷūr in the Salem district as its capital, played a very important role in the history of this period. The Bāṇas referred to variously as the Vāṇakōvaraiyar Vāṇādhirāyar' Māvali Vāṇādhirāyar, Magadhēśaṉ and the like, figure very largely in the inscriptions of the period, especially in those of the Pāṇḍyas as their officers.

Rājarāja III continued to live for fourteen years after the accession of Rājēndra III, We have an inscription of Rājarāja

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dated in his 44th regnal year[49] (A. D. 1260). His records are found in the outlying parts of the Cōḻa kingdom in the modern districts of Salem, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore. Inscriptions of Rājēndra also are found in this region upto that date; after that they are found only in the Chōḻa-nāḍu proper, and even that only upto 1278–79 A.D.[50]

11. Events Immediately preceding the date of the Record:

The circumstance under which the Chōḻa rule came to an end in the Tamil country are not clear, It is not also known whether the reign of Rājēndra III which had lasted for thirty three years came to a peaceful end by his natural death or whether he was forced to step down the throne. Even if it had been a case of his natural death we do not know whether he had any sons to succeed him and if so what became of them. An undated inscription of Rājēndra from Tirukkaṇṇapuram[51] in

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[49] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for years 1939-40 to 1942–43, Part II, para 42; Inscription No. 192 of 1939-40.

[50] (It may, however, be noted that Tribhuvana-Chakravarttin Rājādhirāja (III), who was holding 'his court' at Drākshārāma in vēṅgl, continued to rule there for another 15 years thereafter. We have a large number of his inscriptions going up to his 76th regnal year in Saka 1215, corresponding to A. D. 1293.

These inscriptions found at Drākshārāma and published in the South Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Vol. IV, are as follows :-

General No.	Regnal year	Saka Year	Christian Year A. D.
1043	36	1174	1252–53
1178	36	1174	1252-53
1045	36	1175	1253-54
1371	37	1175	1253-54
1033	37	1175	1253-54
1230	38	1176	1254-55
1032 A	43	1180	1258-59
1163	50	1188	1266-67
1373	59	1197	1275-76
1152	62	1200	1278-79
1019	72	121 *	1289-90
1038	72	1211	1289 ?
1307	76	1215	1293-94

Thus this 'Emperor' had continued to rule even after the Chōḻas of the main line in the Tamil country had ceased to exist).

[51] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, No. 515 of 1922.

the Tañjāvūr district mentions a certain Sēmappiḷḷai called by the king *'nammagan'* or 'our son' but as this description is often applied to feudatories in Chōḻa inscriptions it is doubtful if Sēmappiḷḷai was really a son of Rājēndra III. A certain Sēmaṉ also figures as a feudatory of Vīra Pāṇḍya. He is sometimes considered as identical with this person and also with Aḻagiya Sēman mentioned as a Pāṇḍya feudatory between 1257-79 A. D.[52] Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251 A. D.) claims in his *meykkīrtti* to have kllled a traitorous Sēman whose name is found in the Sanskrit *Praśasti* as Kshēma. According to Dr. J. D. M. Derrett he was "a Sēuna Officer commissioned to fish in the troubled waters of the Tamil country" and "put to death by the Pāṇḍya who ironically claims to have done King Rāma, that is Ramanatha, service thereby."[53].

There was another king also of the Tamil country whose reign came to an end just at thls time. He was the Kāḍava chief Kōpperuñjiṅga who counts his regnal years from 1243 A. D. and whose inscriptions citing these years run in a series upto the thirty-sixth year, A.D. 1278-79. Scholars are not agreed on the identity of this ruler. According to one view he was the same person who earlier imprisoned Rājarāja III and confined him at Sēndamaṅgalam and he had a rather long and stormy carreer. The other view is that both of them were different being designated Kōpperuñjiṅga I and Kōpperuñjiṅga II, the latter being the son or the grandson of the former. Anyway this Kōpperuñjiṅga belonged to the Kāḍava or Pallava family. Just like the Chōḻas with a hoary past, the Kāḍavas also with a long history running to many centuries behind, disappeared now finally with Chōḻas.

Inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas begin to appear regularly thereafter in the areas which formed the homeland of these dynasties. Those of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II who ascended the throne in 1276 A. D. are found in the northern part of the empire in the modern districts of Cuddapah and Chingleput besides Salem, Tañjavur and South Arcot. while those of his senior co-regent and perhaps the principal of the joint rulers, Māṟavarman Kulasēkhara, are found all over the country. As already noticed one of his inscriptions dated in his 15th regnal year (A. D. 1282-83) mentions that the king was staying at Kaṇṇaṉūr at that time. It will be evident that he had already come into possession of the Hoysaḷa region in the Tamil country. Another inscription dated in his 20th regnal year (A. D. 1287-88) from Śēranmādēvi in the Tirunelveli[54] mentions that he conquered Malaināḍu, Śoṇāḍu, the two Koṅgus, Iḻam and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. These are probably references to compaigns rendered necessary on account of some local trouble or other, for most of the territories mentioned had been brought under subjection to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya.

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[52] Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State Nos. 427-37; Pudukkotta Manual, pp. 619-21,

[53] Dr. J. D. M. Derrett. (The Hoysalas, p. 130.)

But one thing seems clear. It appears that Rājēndra III, in the latter half of his reign, patched up his differences with Hoysaḷa Rāmanātha. An inscriptition from Tiruchchatturai[55] near Tañjāvūr registers some gift in the 20th regnal year of Rājēndra III. The record also quotes the tenth regnal year of Hoysaḷa Rāmanāthadēva. This record and another[56] dated in the 15th regnal year of Hoysaḷa Rāmanātha, according to the official report,[57] "point out that the joint rule of both the Chōḻa and Hoysaḷa sovereigns, was recognised in this tract at this period." They must have been drawn more closely together by their common adversity. They were both defeated in battle about1279 by Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara. It is significant that no inscription of Rāmanātha dated from after 1277 A. D. is to be found in the Kāvērī valley that had once been his domain. He was involved in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas at that time and this resulted in the loss of his capital Kaṇṇaṉūr.

Unlike the Chōḻa or the Kāḍava who completely disappeared from history about this period, the Hoysaḷa was in a slightly better position; the family did not completely disappear; it lingered on for another half a century. Rāmanātha continued to rule for more than fifteen years thereafter; but it was in a different region. He shifted from the plains to the plateau. The seat of his government also was removed to a place called Kundāṇi or Kundāgi.

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[54] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, No, 692 of 1916.

[55] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, No, 207 of 1951.

[56] No. 208 of 1931.

[57] ARE, 1931, Part II, para 16.

12. Identity of the Fugitive Ruler who sought China's help

From the above discussion it will be evident that the legitimate ruler of Ma'bar who, as a refugee from the Pāṇḍya sought to obtain the help of the Chinese Emperor to restore him to his former position could be anyone of the three; the Chōḻa, the Kāḍava or the Hoysala.

The fugitive ruler is reported to have intimated to Yang Ting-pi as follows; "My great Pi-she-ch'ih has gone to the Suan-tan and asked for a change". The name *Pishe-ch'ih* can be restored as *Pōśalēsa*, meaning the Hoysaḷa king. In Tamil the Hoysaḷa is always referred to as *Pōśala* and occasionally as *Poysaḷa* or *Paviśala*. The Śiva temple constructed by the Hoysaḷas at Kaṇṇaṉūr, is always referred to in inscriptions as the Pōśaḷēśvara temple. Thus from the Chinese accounts we learn that the Hoysaḷa king at this time went over to the side of the invading Pāṇḍya. Perhaps, this was the reason for the survival of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. The Hoysaḷa is thus eliminated from the ruler who had sought Chinese help.

Further, the statement of the fugitive that his Great Pōśaḷēśvara had gone to Sundara and asked for a change is significant and reveals in a way the identity of the fugitive. It will be evident from the statement that a person, whoever he might have been, held the Hoysaḷa king in great esteem and depended very much on him for his advancement. The defection of the Hoysaḷa to the Pāṇḍya was itself a serious blow to the fugitive ruler. In addition, the Hoysaḷa is said to have asked the Pāṇḍya 'for a change', evidently the appointment of another person to the position formerly held by the fugitive. If so, it would have dashed all hopes of his ever regaining his former position with the help of the Hoysaḷa or with the goodwill of the Pāṇḍya.

The above description and the particulars to be discussed in the next section will suit more to a Chōla than to a Kādava. We do not know of any strong affection of the Kādava for the Hoysala or of any alliance between them at this period, even though the possibility of one can not be ruled out. Though the two seem to have been bitter enemies throughout, we know that the Hoysaḷas had regular matrimonial relations with the Chōlas for a long time, at least from the days of Kulōttunga I. Rājēndra III refers to Sōmēśvara in his inscriptions as his *māmadi* or father-in- law. Still, that relationship did not stand in the way of his inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hoysaḷa at the very beginning of his reign, as early as 1252 A.D., as is evident from the epithet 'rod of death to his enemy *māmadi* Sōmēśvara' borne by him in his inscriptions. Considering that his co-regent (his father) Rājarāja III, was than alive we are perhaps to assume that Rājēndra III was a grown up person. past his adolescence, when he became king. Then, at the time we are now considering, he should have been, after having reigned for thirty-three years, an aged person if not very old. He would not have referred the then Hoysala king who was his own brother-in-law Vira Rāmanātha as his Great Pōśleaśvara. This indicates the Chōḷa was an younger person, perhaps a son of Rājēndra. Then the Hoysaḷa ruler Rāmanātha would have been his maternal uncle if his mother were the Hoysaḷa princess. Since the Hoysala is reported to have asked the Pāndya 'for a change' in the rulership of the Chōḷa country, we may infer that this Chōḷa was not the son of Rājēndra III, by the Hoysaḷa princess, but by a different queen. Perhaps the Hoysaḷa princess also had a son and he was a rival claimant of the Chōḷa throne; Rāmanātha might have espoused with the Pāṇḍya the cause of this prince as he was his own nephew.

In that case what actually took place might be reconstructed as follows Rājēndra III did not long survive his defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍya and died soon after. He had left behind him two sons; one by the Hoysala princess and the other by a different queen. The latter, being the elder of the two, became the king. The claims of the other were put forward by the Hoysaḷa ruler Rāmanātha and perhaps these were accepted by the Pāṇḍyas. The net result was that the other prince who become king, lost his crown and had to live in hiding. It is possible that the prince who was the nephew of Rāmanātha became a puppet ruler under the aegis of both the Pāṇḍya and the Hoysaḷa, with the Bāna as his principal adviser.

In the Chinese Annals it is stated that Yang Ting-pi on his landing in the country of Ma'bar met *Ma-yin-ti*, the Minister of State. Evidently the name *Ma-yin-ti* is to be restored as Magadhai indicating Magadhēśaṉ or Magadhai-p-perumaḷ, meaning the Bāṇa ruler. As such the place of his landing also should be located in the northern part of the Coramandel Coast.[58]

One other point which may be considered as supporting the identification of the fugitive ruler with the Chōḷa may also be cited here. It is known that the members of the Chōḷa royal family were then living in the place at Rājarājapuram (near Kumbakonam) which had the other name of Muḍikoṇḍachōḷapuram and formed part of the bigger city of Paḻaiyāṟai including within its limits other places like. Pattiśvaram, Tiruchattimuṟṟam, Nandipuram and the like. That place was also the headquarters of a line of teachers of the Śaiva faith familiarly known as the *Tiruchchattimurrattu Mudaliyār* and *Tiruchchattimurrattu santāna*, which had many branches spread all over the Tamil country. We hear frequently of the teachers of this *Matha* in the reign of Rājēndra III. One of his inscriptions dated in his 23rd regnal year (1263 A.D.) from Tiruviḻimiḻalai in the Nannilam taluk of the Tañjāvūr district,[59] registers a landgift to Aḻagiya Tiruchchirrambalam-uḍaiyār *maḍam* by Tavapperumāḷ *alias* Ñāṉaśiva, the disciple of Tiruchchattimuṟṟattu-Mudaliyār (of Paridipperumāḷ *santāam)* of the Tiru-ñāṉasambandan-tirumaḍam to the east of Tiruchachattimuṟṟam-uḍaiya-nāyaṉār and Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam-uḍaiya Periyanāchchiyār at Rājarājapuram. The Tamil word *perumāḷ* means a king. The epithet *Tavapperumāḷ* therefore becomes equivalent to *Tapōrāja* or *Tavarājar.* It is possible that the Tavachchakkravattigaḷ *alias* Sambandha-p-perumāḷ who eretcted the Śiva temple in China was in some way connected with the *santāna* of the Tiruchchattimuṟṟattu-Mudaliyār. In that case he might have launched on this project on behalf of the fugitive Chōḷa ruler. Would it not be possible to restore *Chāma-li-Ting,* the name of the envoy sent by the fugitive ruler of Mā'bar to the chinese court as Sambandha or Sambandha-p-perumal? Perhaps it was likewise.

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[58] The name Hsin-tsun may also be restored as Sētu, i.e., the Danushkōṭi. or the Rameswaram island. If so, the Chinese envoy would have reached Madurai, the Pāṇḍya capital, easily and then it would not have been difficult for him to go to Quilon by the land-route. In asmuch as he had stayed at the place of his landing for nearly a year and then proceeded to Quilon by the sea route, the possibility of such an identification is precluded.

[59] Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, No. 392 of 1908.

13. Missions to China :

One other point has also to be considered.

It is not only interesting but also puzzling that a Chōḷa ruler who lost his throne and kingdom to the Pāṇḍya in the last quarter of the 13th century should appeal to the Emperor of China for help in regaining his throne and kingdom. China and Tamiḷnāḍu are situated far apart with no land-route between them. The only way of intercourse between them was the sea-route. Travel by sea between these two countries took from four to six months depending on the direction of the wind. It cannot be said that the thought of appealing to the Chinese Emperor for help occurred to the fugitive prince with the arrival of the Chinese envoys in Ma'bar and that he utilised the occasion by contacting the envoys and delivering them a message for transmission to the Emperor for whatever it might be worth. He appears to have sent his ambassador already to China who had arrived at the Mongol Court even before the departure of Yang Ting-pi. The fugitive ruler was perhaps confident that he would be receiving some help from China or that the despatch itself of the mission would deter the Pāṇḍya from taking any precipitate action. This would become clear from the statement of the fugitive ruler that the coming of the Chinese envoys was interpreted as having come to raise the fugitive ruler to the rank of a Feudal Prince of the Chinese Empire'.

Missions from Ma'bar arrived at the Mongol Court in the year 1279 and again in the year 1280 and on each occasion the mission presented the Emperor a live elephant and a rhinoceros. In the Chinese Annals its arrival is mentioned on both the occasions along with a similar mission from Annam (Chan-Chēng). On the second occasion they are said to have brought memorials from their rulers to the Emperor in which they styled themselves, "Your Servants". The tenor of the language would suggest both of them were acting jointly collaborating with each other. For this there should have been some sort of relation and contact between the two, Ma'bar and Annam.

14. The Part played by Annam :

The term Annam is generally understood as indicating the North Viet-Nam country. The South Viet-Nam, known in those days as Champā, was an Indianised Hindu kingdom. It is learnt from the History of Champā that Kublai Khan, even while carrying on the struggle with the sung dynasty, wanted to exact the oath of allegiance from all foreign countries that had hitherto accepted the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain. So an invitation was sent to the kings of Annam and Champā to come and pay their homage as vassals to the Great Khan, In 1278, Sogatu (or Sagatu), a high official of the Khan, reported that King Indravarman of Champā was willing to submit. On this the Khan gave the title 'Prince Imperial of the Second rank' to the king of Champā and rich presents to ambassadors from him who came to the Court in 1279. But the Khan wanted Indravarman to present himself and pay the homage in person. So early in 1280 he sent an embassy to Champa inviting the king to come in person. The King was unwilling to go. He made excuses and sent his envoys, but the Khan insisted on his personal attendance. After, repeated invitations. Indravarman sent some nobles of his court on his behalf.

Thereafter the Khan treated Champā as part of his Empire and sent Sogatu and another to administer Champā as viceroys.

As there was resistance in Champā to this humiliation, the Khan decided on an expedition against Champā. The land-route through Tonkin was refused by the King of Annam. The army led by Sogatu travelled by sea and landed on the coast of Champā in 1282. Sogatu tried conciliation, but failed. The King was unwilling to come in person and meet the Viceory. Instead, he entrenched himself in a citadel. There was no other course than to fight. The battle took place. The king sent his emissaries with presents. He also sent on his behalf his maternal uncle, whose name, as written in the Chinese, is Pao-t'o-t'ou-houo, but he never came in person. Sogatu found it difficult to contiuue his stay there. He wanted reinforcement. That also had to travel by sea. Part of it was lost in the sea. When the remaining army landed in Champā, Sogatu was not there. He had already left for China in the meanwhile. So, in order to bring the compaign to a successful end at any cost, the Great Khan resolved to send by land an army sufficiently strong for the final conquest of Champā.

In order to reach Champā it was necessary to pass through Annamite territory. The king of that country, like Indra varman, had obstinately refused to pay homage to the Emperor of China in person. His son and successor Nho'n-ton resolved to follow the same policy, and when invited to present himself at the Court, sent his uncle Tran-di-ai. Kublai Khan, furious at this obstinacy, declared Nho'n-ton to have forfeited the throne, and appointed Tran-di-Ai as king in his place. He also appointed Tch'en Tch'ouen as "Ambassador Extraordinory and Generallissimo of Annam" and asked him to go and install Tran-di-Ai on the throne.

They were, however, unable to enter Annam, and Nho'n-ton also refused passage to the troops of Sogatu. The army therefore had to take a different route to reach Champā. From there Sogatu asked Annam for men and provisions to help him in his compaign against Champā. These were also refused. Whatever might have been the reason, it was his own interesr that made Nho'n-Ton so obstimate in refusing Chinese army a passage through his country. He knew that he was secure from invasion by the Mangol, so long as they were busy with Champā and that the moment his neighbour would submit his own turn would come. So, when he at last received a peremptory order to give passage to the troops bound for Champā, he opposed their advance into his territory.

The Mangol troops were commanded by Togan, the son of Kublai Khan. Failing to win over the king of Annam by diplomacy, he at last invaded the country and gained victories, one after another. At the same time Sogatu also marched from the south and defeated the Annamites at different places. The Emperor of Annam who had been waiting for the proper time, now took the offensive, defeated Togan in the north and drove him back. Unaware of this defeat Sogatu was advancing into the enemy's country when he was surprised and completely defeated. He was killed in the action and his head was presented to the king. Thus both Champā and Annam were deilvered from the menace of Mangol invasion. However, both of them, to pacify the Emperor of China and to be free from future molestations by the Chinese, sent ambassadors to the Mangol Court in 1285 A.D. with rich presents, Kublai Khan, finding it to be futile to continue the hostility, reconciled himself to the realities.[60]

We find here Champā and Annam collaborating together in their dealings with the Mangol Court at this period. We have seen above that according to the Chinese accounts, the mission from Ma'bar also collaborated with Annam in the years 1279 and 1280, Just like the ruler of Ma'bar, the king of Champā also is said to have presented the Emperor of China elephants on every occasion. According to the statment of the fugitive ruler, the arrival of Yang Ting-pi in Ma'bar in 1281 A.D. was interpreted by the Pāṇḍyas as 'the coming of the imperial envoys to raise the the fugitive ruler to the rank of a Feudel Prince of the Empire', on which the Paṇḍyas were said to have informed the Chinese envoys that the country of the fugitive ruler "was poor and lowly and that it would not be of any value to China."

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[60] Champā being Vol. I of the 'Ancient Indian colonies in the Far East' by Sri R. C. Majumdar, pp. 116-121).

It may also be noted here that there is close similarity in the narration of events in Champa and Ma'bar indicating some tie between them. Perhaps we are to infer that, as in the case of Champā and Annam, the envoys had come earlier from at Mongol Court to the Chōḻa king carrying an invitation to attend the Court of Kublai Khan and perform the act of vassalage. That would have been possible only if there had been regular intercourse between China and Tamiḻnāḍu in the years immediately preceding the establishment of the Mongol rule in China.

15. Earlier Contacts With China And Indo-China.

It is known from the Chinese sources that missions arrived in the Court of the Chinese Emperor from South India sent by the Chōḷa monarchs Rājārāja I and Kulōttuṅga I. There are also references to the close contact between Indo-China and the Chōḷa Empire in those days. A Tamil inscription from Chidambaram dated in the 44th regnal year of Kulōttuṅga I mentions that a beautiful stone was shown and presented to Kulōttuṅga by the king of Kāmbhōja as a curio (*kāṭchi*) and that it was fixed in the hall opposite to the Golden hall there to serve as a mirror to the Lord of Tillai. One of the verses (48) in the Karandai (Tañjāvūr) plates of Rājēndra I states that the king of Kāmbhōja solicited the friendship of Rājēndra by sending for the protection of his royalty (*Atmalakshmīn*) the victorious war-chariot with which he had overcome in the battles the hostile armies of his own enemies. The kingdom of Kāmbhōja mentioned in both the above reference is clearly the Khmer kingdom of Angkor in Indo-China. It will be evident therefrom that both of these Chōḷa monarchs had at one time visited Indo-China. When and for what purpose they went there is not known.

Rouffaer thinks that Valaippandūṟu, one of the places conquered by Rājēndra I, according to his *meykkīrtti*, in the

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61. South Indian Temple Inscriptions, edited by T. N. Subramaniam, Vol. I No. 21, also Epigraphia Indica Vol. V, p. 105.

62. Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXX, p. 151.

course of his naval expedition against Kaḍāram and Śrīvishaiya. is identifiable with the fortress of Paṇḍuraṅga, the modern Phanrang at the southern end of Champā. But Knom thinks this as mere guess, not based on any satisfactory ground and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri also feels that it is doubtful, in any event, if the Chōḷa expedition went out as far a field as Champa.[63] In this connection, it is worthwhile noticing that the Chinese Annals mention the name of the ruler of Champā who sent an embassy to China with tribute in 1030 A. D. was according to the Chinese transcription, Yang-P'ou Kou-che-li-pi-lan-To-kia-pan-me-tie. This name has been restored by the earlier scholars as Yan Puku Śri Vikrāntavarman (IV)[64]. This does not seem to be correct. It can better be restored as Yampu Kō Śrī Parāntaka Varmadēva. i.e. Śrī Parāntaka Varmadēva, the king of Yampu. It has to be noted that this was immediately after the successful naval expedition of Rājēndra I.

The term *Kō* in the Name of the ruler is a Tamil word meaning a king: similarly the suffix Varmadēva, which is found in the form *Panmateva* also betrays the influence of Tamil‘ The name Parāntaka itself is one commonly found among the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and their feudatories in the Tamiḻ-nāḍu.

Yampu is the name of a place called Yampu-nagara in the inscription of Champā, the modern Po-Nagar, in Nha-Trang, which was formally known as the Kauthāra. The place had a temple for the goddess Bhagavatī. The goddess came to be regarded as the guardian deity of the land and her temple became a national sanctuary. Successive kings offered to it rich gifts in men and money. The goddess is variously referred to in inscriptions as Mahābhagavati, Bhagavatī, Kauṭhārēśvari, Śrī Maladā Kauṭhāra, 'the goddess called the Yampu-nagara', (*Yampu-nagar āhvayā-dēvatā*). 'The goddess of pōnagara,' the goddess of Yampu-nagara' and *Śrī Maladā Kanthārēśvarī*. It was also the capital of a line of kings who ruled over Champā in the 9th and 10th centuries, who affiliated themselves to the

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[63] History of Sri Vijaya, p. 81.

[64] Champa by Dr. R. C. Majundar p. 75.

Bhṛigu dynasty (*Bhṛiguvamsa.*) Both Śukra or Śukrācharya, the preceptor of the *Asuras* and Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni, considered as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, belonged to this family. The word *Kañṭhāra* which was the name of the place itself means *paraśu*, the battleaxe, the weapon of Paraśurāma The Bhṛigu family which ruled over Champā in Indo-China belonged to the same family to which belonged the Malaiyamān chief of the Malāḍu country in the South Arcot district of the Tamiḻ-nāḍu, who are described in their inscriptions as belonging to the Śukrānvaya, and claimed descent from Ôri, a liberal patron mentioned in classical Tamil literature. In the inscriptions of Champā, Urōja, a descendant of Ura, is described as the progenitor of the Bhṛigu *vamśa*, sent there by Lord Śambhu (Siva). It will be evident that the Tamil Ori and the Sanskrit Ura indicate the same person. Further, the epithet *Maladā* in the name of the goddess Bhagavatī is clearly connected with the Tamil word *Malāḍu* meaning the land of the Malaiyamān chiefs[65].

The city of Yampu appears to have remained under the control of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai for sometime earlier. The Dalavāypuram plates of the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Vīra-nārāyana describe the donor's father Śrī-Vallabha with the epithet *Yāmpura-śīlan.*[66]

It will be evident from the above that there was close contact between the rulers of the Tamiḻ-nāḍu on the one hand and the kingdoms in Indo-China and China on the other even in the earlier days. This appears to have continued uninterrupted right through the date of our inscription, even though not studied properly. Not only that, evidence giving information about such contacts has been consistently ignored.[67]

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[65] For further discussion on the subject see the chapter The Bhṛigu vamsa by the auther in his book entitled 'The Malaiyāḷar and the Chēros in South-East Asia,' being Part V of the series', 'Suvarnabhumi and Tamil-nadu' now under publication.

[66] This is discussed in detail by the auther in his forthcoming edition of the Pāṇḍya Copper-Plate Grants in the Madras Museum in a Bulletin of the Museum.

[67] An attempt has been made to some extent by the present writer in the series Suvarṇabhūmi and Tamiḻ-nāḍu, especially in Part III Śrī Vijaya or Śrīvishava and Pa IV, The Chōḷas in South-East Asia.

16. Such Contacts In the Period Immediately Preceding the Date of the Present Inscription.

Kulōttuṅga II in his *meyakkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pū-maṉṉu Padumam* claims to have levied and received tributes from the Pallavar, Teluṅgar, Mālavar, Kaliṅgar, Kōśalar, Kaṉṉaḍar, Kadārar, Teṉṉavar (Pāṇḍyas), Chēraḷar, Śingaḷar, Koṅgaṇar, Chēdipar, Trikattar (Trikartta), Vaṅgar, Aṅgar, Vattavar (Vatsan), Mattirar (Madras), Gaṅgar, Sōṉakar, Kaikayar (Haihayas?) and Chīṉar (the Chinese).[68]

Of these names, three, Kaḍārar, Sōṉakar and Chīṉar, are of special interest to us. The word Kaḍārar indicates the people of the country named Kaḍāram, the Katāha (the modern Keddah in Malaysia) ruled over by the Śailēndras. The *Kulōttuṅgan Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ*, a minor poem in Tamil sung on him by his tutor and court poet, Oṭṭakkūttar, mentions (verse 56) that the king who had the *Makara* as the emblem on his flag was subordinate to the hero of the poem i.e. Kulōttuṅga II. From the *Larger Leiden plates* of Rājēndra I it is seen that the Śailēndra king of Kaḍāram and Śrī-Vishaya had the *makaradhvaja*[69]. It will be seen from this that the kingdoms of Kaḍāram and Śrīvishaya continued to send tribute to the Chōḷa monarch even in the days of Kulōttuṅga II.

Similarly, Rājarāja II, his son and successor, claims in his *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pūmaruviva poḷil iluam* to have received tributes from the Kaṉṉadar, Kaliṅgar, Toṟṟovur, Śiṅgalar, Kaikayar (Haihayas?) Koṅgaṇas, Kūpakar, Kāśikar, Kāmbōdar, Kōśalar, Kontaḷar, Kappaḷar, Pappalar, Pāñchalar, Poppalar, Pūluvar, Mattirar, Marāṭṭar (Mahārashtra), Vattavar and Māgadhar.

In this list also we find some names interesting. The term Kāmbōdar can only mean the Kambuja or the Khmer kingdom of Indo-China.

The identification of the several names in the above lists has never been attempted. It is generally considered that these

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[68] South Indian Inscriptions, Vol, XVII, No. 598.

[69] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, pp. 242 257, text line 81.

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are mere conventional praises and that no great importance should be attached to such statements. As such the question how these kingdoms were mentioned to have paid tributes to the Chōḻa monarchs does not arise. But it has to be noted that these are found in the official *meykkīrttis* of these kings and also that such 'exaggerated' praises are not found in the *meykkīrttis* of their predecessors or successors. Further, similar claims are also attributed to the Western Chāḷukyan kings at this period and to the emperors of the Pāṇḍya family who emerged as a great power in the next century.

Of the several names mentioned in both *meykkīrttis* the term *Pappalar* in that of Rajaraja II is, perhaps the same as the Māpappāḷam, the great Pappāḷam said to have been conquerred by Rājendra I in the course of his naval expedition against Kaḍāram and Śrīvishaya The name Kāśikar looks very much similar to the name of the Khasi tribe of the Assam hills. We have already noticed the occurrence of the name of(Chīṉar and Śōṉakar in the *meykkīrtti* of Kulōttuṅga II. The name of the Kāśiyar and the Śōṉakar are found in the list of kings who paid tributes to the Pāṉdya emperor a few years earlier to date our inscription from China.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I who ascended the throne in 1251 A. D. claims in his *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pu-malar-valar-tigal tirumagaḷ* claims to have levied tribute from the Kuchcharar (Gujaras), Āriyar, Kōśalar, Koṅkaṇar, Vachchirar, Kāśiyar, Māgadhar,......Ārumanar, Śōnakar, Avantiyar and other crowned kings of the wide world.[70] The term Arumanar indicates Rāmaṅṅa, the name by which Burma was known in those days. The term Śōnakar is now understood generally to refer to a Moor. But in Tamil literature the name is always mentioned along with the Chīṉese (*Śīṉarum Śōnakarum*) The Tamil word *Śōṉakar* is derived from the Sanskrit *Yavana*, the Prakrit form of which is Yona, found in the earlier inscriptions in the Brahmi script. This becomes *Jōna*, the Tamil term of which is *Śōṉa*. The suffix *Ka* is added to it to indicate 'a native of' or one 'belonging to' the Yavana. The word

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[70] South Indian Inscriptions (Texts) Vol.

Yavana is understood in the sense of a Greek, and, sometimes by extension, a Roman. But the name is also applied to the Annamities in the local chronicles of that country; and also used occasionally in this sense in the inscriptions of Indo-China.

Thus many of these names refer to the lands in South-East Asia. It is seen from the Chinese annals that many of these kingdoms are also said to have sent tributes to the Emperor of China. It is well known that references in the Chinese annals to the tributes received from various countries really mention the arrival of missions with rich presents from those countries, many of which were merely of the nature of missions for trade and other purposes. Perhaps the references in the *meykkīrttis* of the rulers of Tamil-nādu to the levy of tribute from different countries in South-East Asia are also to be understood only in the above light. We know that the Chōḷa empire in the days of Rājēndra I and Kulōttuṅga I wielded some sort of overlordship over the maritime kingdoms of Kaḍāram and Śrīvishaya. From the *meykkīrttis* of Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II we are to understand that a similar state of suzerainty over the maritime empire existed in those days. It appears to have continued likewise under Kulōttuṅga III also.

What happened after that time is not clear. We do not know whether the Pāṇḍyas displaced the Chōḷas in the overseas areas also as in the homeland. The claim of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I to have levied tribute from the Arumaṇar and the Śōṇakar would certainly point to such a conclusion. But the statement attributed in the Chinese annals to the fugitive ruler of Ma'bar in refusing the claim of Sundara Pāṇḍya that 'the country was poor and lowly' in the words, "This is false. All the gold, pearls, and precious things of Muslim countries come from here, and all the Muslims come here to trade. All the kingdoms (of Southern India) will show their submissiveness if Ma'bar has once done so", would indicate that the Chōḷa still continued to enjoy his influenee in those far off lands. Perhaps his appeal to China for help to regain his throne and kingdom has to be viewed against this background.

Melancholy interest attaches to this article. T.N. Subrahmanian, the author submitted it to us for publication, but he passed away before it could appear. Mr. Subrahmanian intended to write a number of books on South India's relations with South-East Asia. The first book, "the Pallavas and the for East" appeared in 1967. Some of the references in the footnotes are to these books.

The Bhagavata Purana Paintings at Srirangam

Chitra Viji

Early Telugu literary writers started by rendering well established Sanskrit works like the Mahabaratha and the Ramayana into Telugu to reach a wider audience who were not familiar with the Sanskrit language. The works of scholars like Nannaya, Nannichoda, Errapragada cover the period of Telugu literary resurgence in a predominant Sanskrit literary milieu. This helped to establish Telugu as a language of the poets of the Telugu Desa breaking a strong Sanskritic tradition. Their language shows dependance on Sanskritised Telugu words and gradually with the acceptance and popularity of their works, the next generation of poets and scholars were able to introduce a move to use Telugu words with a colloquial tone rather than opt for a purely Sanskrit word to express their poetic thought. It is to this later tradition that the great poet Bammera Potana, the author of Bhagavatam belongs. The date of Potana has not been definitively fixed. The dates of 1450-1510 A.D. might be considered possible.

The Telugu literary tradition so far had been one of translations and not of great original works of new ideas. This was due to the fact that the Telugu country was deeply imbibed with the spirit and ideas of the itihasic lore and their poets developed the artistic skill of rendering them into lyrical, poetical Telugu works which were masterpieces of translation. 'The right word in the right place, a simile most appropriate to the occasion, a sentiment that is shared by one and all, and a felicity of phrase which evokes beautiful thoughts, are some of the prominent features of Potana's poetry'.[1] This is the very reason that made Potana's Bhagavatam have a universality of appeal. Sometime during the Nayaka rule at the beginning of the 18th century, his Bhagavatam was committed to painting in the Prakara of the Thayar sannadhi in Srirangam (Panguni

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[1] G. V. Sitapati.

Uthira Mantapam). The Telugu people were conversant with Krishna Leela, Rama Rajyam and other such episodes. Much was written during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya of the Vijayanagara Empire who was himself not merely a great patron of the arts but a notable poet. He was a pillar of strength to Telugu literature and this was a creative efflorescent period. In much the same way the Vijayanagara rulers were the moving force during the 14th to 16th centuries, the Nayakas in the south were responsible for a continued Telugu Renaissance after the sunset over the Vijayanagar Empire. The mantle of royal patronage of Telugu writers fell on such rulers as Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore (1600-1631) who was himself the author of Achutabhyudayam, a biographical work on his father. This era produced historical and biographical works and Ragunathabhyudayam which contains a wealth of information on the period and the personalities was the work of Ramabhadramba. The Nayaka age in Telugu literature was an eclectic one. Women poets like Rangajamma received royal favour. The rigidity of style and attitude lost ground among the new southern authors who commented on the social attitudes. experimented with metres, enjoyed a freedom of expression that gave an impetus to this creative art and enriched Telugu language and literature. The Yakshagana plays became a popular mode of expressing contemporary ideas and these were at times written with a touch of eroticism and levity that would not have found favour in the earlier period. The Telugu rulers in Andhra and Tamil-nadu were themselves not merely patrons of art but were considered authors of great merit. In the Nayak period a prodigious amount of literature was produced covering sciences, arts, music, etc. A good number of temples in the south bear witness to the patronage extended by these Telugu speaking rulers. A profusion of paintings covering the period 16th to 18th centuries are to be found scattered in the mantapams of many southern temples, not properly appreciated or documented as yet. The episodes painted from the epics reveal the tremendous popularity of Hindu mythology during this time Obviously as an off-shoot of such popularity, Srirangam, which was a powerful Vaishnava centre of pilgrimage, was singled out to receive particular attention in this respect. At

Srirangam, there are Krishna-Leela episodes painted on the ceiling of the Venugopala Mantapa belonging to the Vijayanagara period, the Ramayana panels, that are so tastefully executed, are of the late Vijayanagara time, the Bhagavatam panels painted on an extensive scale are of the Nayaka period datable to the end of the 17th century or early 18th century and are executed with so much attention to detail, while the Udaiyavar shrine is the repository of the episodes covering the life of the Vaishnava Alwars in a Guruppparamparai narrative style, etc. Here I wou'd like to deal with the Bhagavatam paintings of the Thayar Sannadhi.

The Bhagavata Purana tales must have been painted covering perhaps the largest canvas ever in the south on the ceiling of the Mantapa on a scale that is stupendous. Today the paintings that have survived show remarkable preservation, while the patchy and damaged area is so vast that perhaps most of the skandas of the Purana might have been painted. There are a group of over 25 panels at one end which are well preserved and labelled with Telugu inscriptions conveying the essence of the episode in a colloquial and brief form. This covers the tales from skandas IV, V and VI of the Bhagavata Purana.

The composition of these panels, the marked outline of the figures, deep stable colours, plenty of costumery, jewellery and the language in the labels make for easy identification. One tends to conclude that the Nayaka paintings were meant for the enjoyment and pleasure of the common folk who would have found a temple visit not merely a religious visit but a pleasing one too. These panels and the portraiture in them immediately attract and have an instant appeal that leads to a recall of the stories of the Bhagavatam. It is this association of the thought contained in the puranas which gives a spiritual meaning and makes one brush aside the imperfections and a lack of subtleties in the art work. The physical depiction becomes secondary.

This[2] Our 'Pramatri Chaitanya' goes and throws itself on the thing, making the thing seen a thing felt by the mind. In

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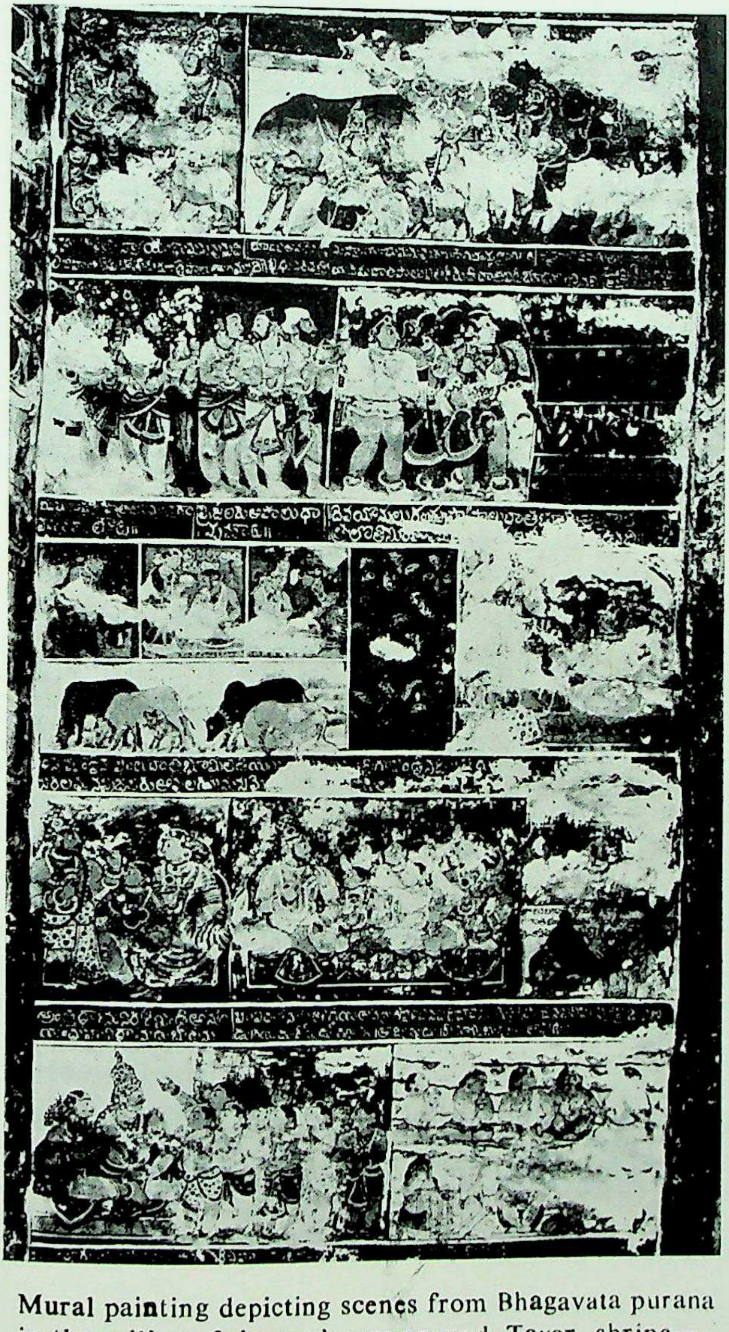
2. Abanindranath Tagore : Some Notes on Indian artistic anatomy and sadanga or the six limbs of painting.

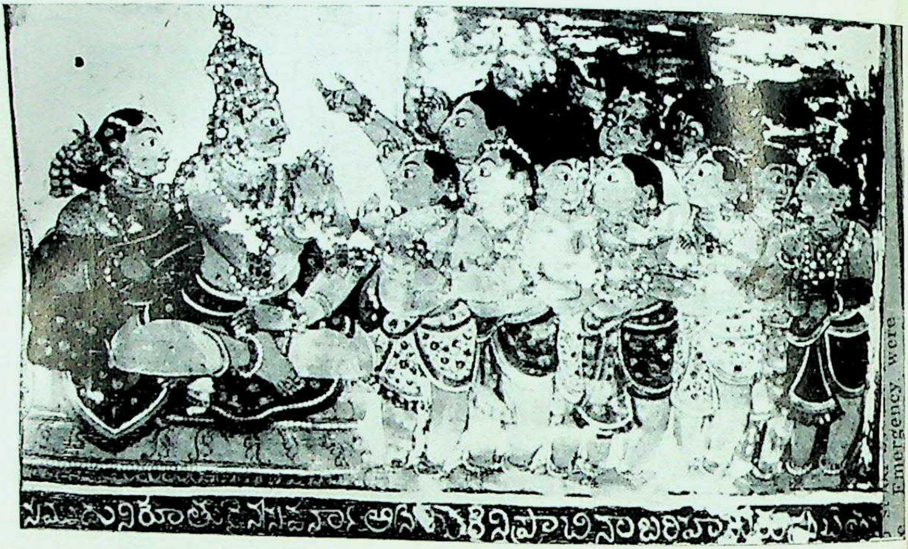
consequence, the mind takes the qualities of form and form takes the qualities of the mind.'

There is a mass appeal about the Nayaka style and here lies the answer to their great popularity and the widespread prevalence of this art form in the south. This explains the reason behind the general acceptance of this art school and method of painting mythological tales that became a temple tradition from the 16th to 19th centuries. The artists developed great skill in rupabheda and accomplished this feat of representing the essence of Puranas on the ceiling of temp'es. an arduous task by itself, while maintaining the proportion and style of narration, working perhaps flat on their back at such heights.

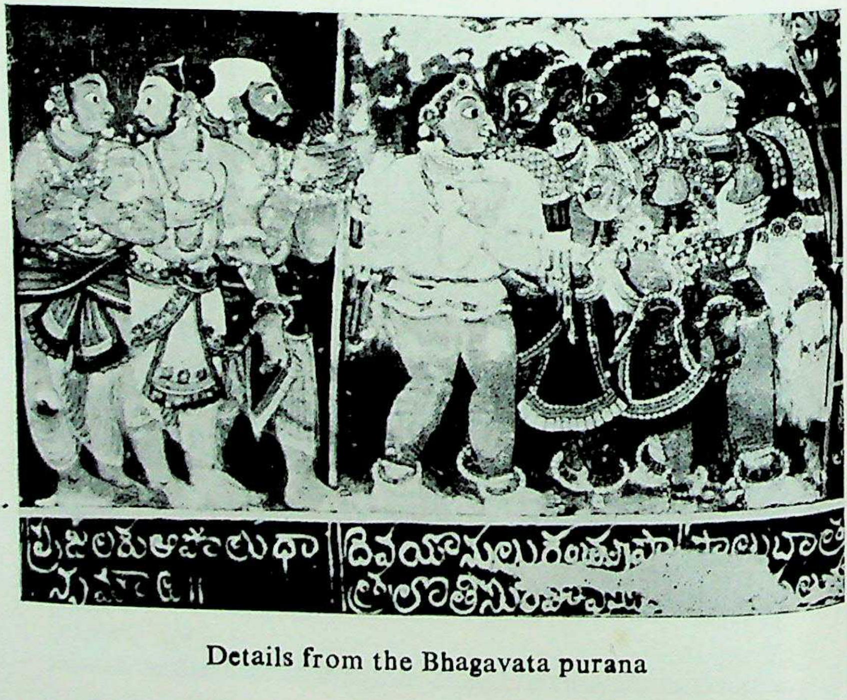
At Srirangam there is a continuous sequence of one set of panels that take the Bhagavata Purana story from Skanda IV, Chapters 14 to 31 to a part of Skanda VI. This deals with the geneological line of Swayambhu Manu starting with Prthu Chakravarti. Prthu, (the son of Venu) inherits a kingdom that has suffered severely during the rule of Venu who had driven Bhu Devi the Goddess of Earth to the nether world (pathala loka). Prthu on his coronation propitiates the Gods who are pleased by his sacrifice, and the celestial beings eulogise him, considering him to be an incarnation of a part of Sri Hari. He then goes in search of Bhu Devi who trembles at his fury. She who had swallowed the seeds and grains to prevent total destruction under Venu offers to yield these to Prthu to bring back prosperity to his kingdom. She is portrayed in the human form as a delicate woman and also as a cow (dhenu). Prthu get Swayambhu Manu to take the form of a calf and he milks this cow whose milk drenches the earth, restoring the earth's fertility. The Devas get nectar, the people get food and the cattle fodder. Then Prthu explains the concept of Dharma to his people. The painting of the cattle grazing the rice fields ready for harvest is done in a nice and easy manner, and conveys a sense of charm. The artists have been meticulous in portraying the scenes in great detail and in spite of the variety of items shown in the background, the paintings have a sense of balance and rhythm. They also convey a feeling of vibrance and these go to keep the vitality of the art form.



Mural painting depicting scenes from Bhagavata purana in the ceiling of the enclosure around Tayar shrine—Srirangam—Nayak period Early, 18th Century A.D.



Details from the Bhagavata Purana



Details from the Bhagavata purana

There are portraits of Prthu's line, his son Antardhanu and his wife Sikhandhini and their son Havirdhanu. From the Telugu labelling one finds that Havirdhanu married Agneya while the puranas refer to her as Havirdhani. Their six sons were Pracina Barhis or Barihaseudu who becomes the ruler, and the others are Gayudu, Sukrudu (Sukla in the puranas), Krishnudu, Rajudu (Vraja) and Abhyassudu (Jitavrata). There is just that amount of difference between the panel portraits to expel a sameness about them. On the whole the Bhagavata Purana narrative moves at a good pace, holding one's interest in reading and studying them and preventing a neck-ache looking at them almost 30 feet high on the ceiling. After this point in the story, there are patches, due to humidity, tubelights etc., which have destroyed the full painted panels and the labelling is also not very clear The story of Pracetas, the ten sons of Pracinabarhis who do penance in the sea to increase the population on earth, how Sri Hari appears before them, their marriage to Vrikshakanya (Marisa) and the story comes to an end with the life of their son Daksha which is covered in Skanda VI of the Bhagavata Purana. We have just enough details to go on but the damaged paintings and the dampness bring the narration to an end.

There can be no doubt that this group of painting, if studied with care, will reveal the name of the painter or the donor or give a clue to its date. With such a vast canvass there should be some evidence as to when this lovely work was executed. The fact that the Bhagavata Purana episodes were painted at such height accounts for its preservation. Modern need for tubelights and fans in Mantapas must be carefully scrutinized before they are fixed over paintings and a move must be made to prevent the destruction caused to these works of art in temples by the careless manner in which electrical cables and reapers are fixed crossing the face of painted areas. Man has the greatest creative interest and this must be utilised to preserve the old and beautiful, a heritage handed to us for posterity.

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[The paintings of Bhagavata Purana, on the ceilings of the enclosure around the Tāyār shrine at Srirangam belong to the first quarter of the 18th century. They were executed under orders of the Madurai Nayak-Vijayaraghunātha Nāyak who ascended the throne after Queen Mangammal. The ruler's portrait depicting his visit to the temple with his queens is portrayed at the end of the painted panels. —the Editor]

Bhagavadajjukam

Translated by Dr. C. Minakshi

[The author of this translation of "Bhagavadajjukam"· a Sanskrit farce written by Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king, who ruled in the seventh century A.D., Dr. C. Minakshi is best known for her book, "Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas". She was a talented scholar, and there can be little doubt that she would have made even finer contributions to scholarship but that she died young forty years ago.

Mahendravarman is said to have written two Sanskrit farces. The other is "Mattavilasa Prahasana". An English translation of this appeared a short while ago. It is believed that 'Bhagavadajjukam' is being translated into English for the first time here in these pages.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. C. Viswanatha Iyer and Gauri Shankar of Dr. Minakshi's family for making this text available to us for publication. We expect to be able to publish a few more of her works in our coming issues. -the Editor.]

(After the Nāndi enters the stage manager)

Stage manager :

May Rudra's foot full of auspicious marks,
Rubbed by the shining jewels on the crowns of eminent Gods,
With its toe which forced Ravana to bow down,
And worshipped by the good, protect you!

Here is our house. Let me enter. (Entering) Vidūshaka? Vidushaka!

Vidūshaka : (entering) Sir, here am I.

Stage manager : There is no one here; and I shall narrate to you something that will please you.

Vidūshaka : Sir, be it so. (goes out and returns). Sir, there is none in this house now and you may give me the welcome news.

Stage manager : Listen. To-day, a Brahmin who was coming from outside the city, and whose infallible predictions had drawn to him the confidence of many people, addressed me thus:

"On the seventh day from this you will exhibit (a performance) in the King's palace, and the king, pleased with this will confer upon you immense riches." I am very much excited over this since his prognostications never fail. And I therefore propose to give a concert.

Vidūshaka : What is the kind of play that you are going to enact?

Stage manager : That is what I have now begun to consider. Among the ten dramatic sentiments namely, Varehamriga, Dima, Samavakara, Vyayoga, Bhana, Sallapa, Vithi. Utsrstika, Anka and Prahasana I find the sentiment of humour or hāsya the best. I shall, therefore, perform a Prahasana (farcc).

Vidūshaka : I have not witnessed a prahasana bubbling with humour.

Stage manager : If so. I shall explain. Nothing can be leanrt unexplained.

Vidūshaka : If that is so you may yourself enlighten me.

Stage manager : Thou whose mind on the acquisition of knowledge is set should follow me on the path righteous as I would state.

(Behind the curtain)

Sāndilya! Sāndilya!!

Stage manager : (Hearing) ... Even as a disciple follows his Brahmin Yogi teacher.

(Exeunt)

Prologue

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(Then enters an ascetic)

Parivrājaka : Sāndilya! Sāndilya!! (Looking behind) Isn't he here? This is just as he is, an idle fellow, for ..

The body is a store-house of diseases, ever in the grip of senility, assailed by sickness within and death without, obstacles and obstructions impeding its diurnal rounds, standing like a tree on a river bank. Obtaining this body by a multiplicity of virtuous acts, he develops haughtiness and self-complacency, being proud of his youth, strength, beauty and virtue and forgetting to view them as false and confounding the body with the soul.

Therefore this ascetic is blameless; I will call him again. Sāndilya! Sāndilya!!

(Then enters Sāndilya)

Sāndilya : Born of Karataka, the illustrious progenitor of our line, unenlightened and unlettered with the yagnopavita across the chest, I had satisfaction only in name of a Brahmin. Due to paucity of food in the household and avid of getting food first thing in the morning, I turned a Sākya ascetic; then again being hungry on account of those bastards who had taken a vow of one meal a day, I rent the Buddhist clothes and discarded the bowl and retreated with only my umbrella. Thirdly, I have become a donkey to carry the load of this wicked Acharya's belongings. Where is he gone? And why? Methinks that this wicked mendicant, eager for his breakfast has gone out to beg for his food by himself. I do not think he has gone afar. (Turning round and looking). Here he is (Approaching). Pardon me! Pardon me! Master.

Parivrājaka : Fear not! Fear not!! Sandilya!

Sāndilya : Oh Master! In this world of mortals where everyday is a day of festivities and where happiness is necessary, by what law of fate are you begging?

Parivrājaka : Listen :

Free from pride and lust, suffering all insults, supporting myself with alms gleaned from the poor, I move in this world of faults and vices cautiously as in a lake full of crocodiles.

Sāndilya : Oh Master! Kinsman or brother have I none Where is my father? It is all God's grace. Alone am I. Due to want of food have I taken the staff and not from love of virtue.

Parivrājaka : Sandilya! What is this?

Sāndilya : Verily this is the truth. You say that an untruth binds men (for rebirth in this world)

Parivrājaka : Why not? An act done with regard to truth and falsehood certainly becomes binding.

A desired act, when devotedly performed,
By a man with his mind set on its fruit
Has its expected fruit ever guarded
By the Devas, like a trust well protected.

Sāndilya : When does he reap the fruit?

Parivrājaka : When he obtaina the wealth of 'freedom from desire'.

Sāndilya : How is that again obtained?

Parivrājaka : By non-attachment.

Sāndilya : O Master! What is this non-attachment? I should like to ask.

Parivrājaka : It is indifference towards love or hatred :

Constant equanimity in pleasure and pain,
Freedom from excitement in fear and joy,
Equal regard to friends and foes,
This the knowers of truth call non-attachment.

Sāndilya : Is there such a thing in existence?

Parivrājaka : Surely there is no name for a thing that does not exist.

Sāndilya : My master, my master, dost thou say it is possible?

Parivrājaka : What doubt is there?

Sāndilya : False is this, false.

Parivrājaka : What reason hast thou to question?

Sāndilya : Why is my master offended with me?

Parivrājaka : Because you do not study.

Sāndilya : Whether I study or not, what matters it to you, a mukta?

Parivrājaka : Not so. Even beating is advocated in the smritis for disciples for their good and though I am not angry I shall beat you for your good.

Sāndilya : How strange! How strange !! Can the master beat me, even though he is not angry? Enough of this fun. The time for alms is passing.

Parivrājaka : Fool, this is morning and not midday. The teaching is that the time for alms is when the pestle is kept by and the kitchen fire is extinguished, and when all the members of the houshold have finished their meal. Let us, therefore, enter the pleasure garden and rest awhile.

Sāndilya : Ah! Ah!! My master has become a breaker of his vow!

Parivrājaka : How?

Sāndilya : Surely, you consider pain and pleasure alike.

Parivrājaka : Yes, but though the soul takes pleasure and pain alike the body requires rest.

Sāndilya : Master! What is the thing called soul and what is it known as body?

Parivrājaka : Listen : That which in dream reaches the sky is the inner soul; it is also that which goes forth as ordained by fate. This body called by the name of man or other wise, this embodiment of karma is the receptacle of the happiness and fatigue of man.

Sāndilya : That which is free from old age, and from death, which cannot be cut into pieces or broken is soul; that which laughs and causes others to laugh, which lies, eats and decays is Karmatma. Is that so?

Parivrājaka : You have understood it aright.

Sāndilya : Ah, away with you, you have been overcome.

Parivrājaka : How is that possible?

Sāndilya : No body, no soul; that is the very thing I mean.

Parivrājaka : What has been said to you is in accordance with wordly usage, for we hear (in the Vedas) of differences in station when there arē differences in status.

Sāndilya : Whatever that may be, who are you?

Parivrājaka : Listen. I am known as man with nature like of an animal with mutable form, composed of sky, air water, fire and heaps of earthly material capable of knowing things by means of ear, eyes. mouth, nose, touch

Sāndilya : Aha! He knows not himself! How then will he know the soul? (Looking round). O master, this is the pleasure garden.

Parivrājaka : You enter first, We are taking shelter in a lonely forest.

Sāndilya : Let master enter first, I shall follow.

Parivrājaka : Why?

Sāndilya : I have heard my mother, Holayani, say that a tiger lies concealed among the sprouts of an Asoka tree. Therefore let my master enter first.

Parivrājaka : Very well.

(Enter severally)

Sāndilya : Alas! I am seized by a tiger! Save me from the mouth of this tiger! I am being eaten away like a helpless person. Here is blood pouring from my neck.

Parivrājaka : There is nothing to fear, Sandilya, it is only a peacock.

Sāndilya : Is it really a peacock?

Parivrājaka : Yes, this is a peacock for certain.

Sāndilya : If it is a peacock I shall open my eyes.

Parivrājaka : Do so,

Sāndilya : Hum! This bastard tiger, being afraid of me, has assumed the form of a peacock and runs away at my sight. (Looking round the pleasure garden) Oh! how beautiful is this pleasure garden, filled with Champaka, Arjuna, Kadamba, Neepa, Nichula, Kuravaka, Karuikara, Karpura-Bhuta, Priyamgu, Sala, Tala, Tamala, Punnaga Naga, Sarala, Sarja, Sinduvara, Sukla, Saptaparna Karavira, Kutaja, Vanni and Asoka trees ; and Mallika, Nandiavarta, Tagara, Khadira, and Kadali; adorned by the advent of spring, filled with foliage, sprouts and clusters of flowers, beautified by a power of Atimukta and Malati creepers; resonant with the sweet sounds of the peacock, cuckoo and the intoxicated bee, and therefore saddening to those damsels who are afflicted with grief due to separation from their lovers and pleasant to those who are in the company of their lovers.

Parivrājaka : O fool ! What loveliness do you see in all these when our senses deteriorate day by day, for :

Youth is attached to the seasonable variations of this world, its spring decked with sprouts, and its autumn adorned with a multitude of Kumuda flowers. When life itself departs where is loveliness in this?

Sāndilya : May I ask how what is lovely now is not lovely then?

Parivrājaka : Those that yearn for things not come, those that regret their past, and those that are discontented with the present will never attain salvation.

Sāndilya : The path is long; let us sit somewhere.

Parivrājaka : We shall rest here.

Sāndilya : It is unclean; it is unclean,

Parivrājaka : A forest is always clean and the ground unsullied.

Sāndilya : If you desire to rest, you will not hesitate to do so anywhere, clean or unclean.

Parivrājaka : The srutis are the authority and not I, for :

Those who have made their will their law, those who are convinced what is harmful is beneficial, and those who are conceited through self-esteem do not recognise any supreme authority.

Sāndilya : You are talking too much; and your philosophy is not authoritative.

Parivrājaka : Not so. What wise men have ordained you uphold as law. Surely those who are governed by authority do not perform unsanctioned acts.

Sāndilya : I see no authority in your words, though you are talking too much.

Parivrājaka : Get up, child; study now.

Sāndilya : I will not study now.

Parivrājaka : Why?

Sāndilya : I desire to know the meaning of the lesson.

Parivrājaka : Only those who have completed their study realize their meaning after a long time; and, therefore, you should study now.

Sāndilya : What happens if one studies?

Parivrājaka : From knowledge arises wisdom, from wisdom self-control, from self-control penance, from penance yoga practice, and from yoga practice an insight into the truth of the present, past and future. From these a man obtains the eightfold wealth.

Sāndilya : You have talked as you have desired on imperceptible things and have overwhelmed intelligence. Is it possible by practice to enter other people's houses unseen by them?

Parivrājaka : What is passing through your mind?

Sāndilya : My object is to eat all the food accumulated by the Sakya Samanas for some reason or another.

Parivrājaka : Your greed is unwarranted.

Sāndilya : For this very reason you have been shaven thoroughly I see no other purpose for this.

Parivrājaka : Not so. The effect of Mahāyoga which is experienced is irresistible, unshakable, reliable, imperishable, respected by gods and demons alike, sponsored by great souls, and honoured by Brahmins.

Sāndilya : You may meditate upon yoga exclusively and alone; but I shall meditate upon food and food alone. O master, ascetics talk much about yoga. What is this yoga?

Parivrājaka : Listen, the state of yoga is that which has wisdom for its root, penance as essence, stabilising on truth, destroying the contraries in life and free from love and hatred.

Sāndilya : Salutations to Lord Buddha who says that carelessness in the matter of eating is carelessness in everything else.

Parivrājaka : Sandilya, what is this?

Sāndilya : Master, don't you know that I became a Sakya Sramana because I was greedy to have meals early in the mornings?

Parivrājaka : Did you succeed in getting any?

Sāndilya : A good deal and a good deal more.

Parivrājaka : All right. Let us hear.

Sāndilya : There are eight prakritis, sixteen manifestations, the soul, the five elements, three gunas, the mind, evolution, and involution. Thus it is stated in the Pitaka book by Bhagavan Jina.

Parivrājaka : *S*andilya, this is Sānkya philosophy and not Sakya philosophy.

Sāndilya : I thought of one thing and gave utterance to another because I was hungry, and my mind was concentrated on food. Now please listen. Cessation from taking that which is not given is the path of discipleship, cessation from the evil of destroying life is the path of discipleship, cessation from uttering that which is untrue is the path of discipleship, cessation from indulgence in sexual intercourse is the path of discipleship, cessation from eating at odd times is the path of discipleship. I take refuge in the Buddha, his religion, and his brotherhood.

Parivrājaka : It does not behove you to go beyond your religion and speak of another. Dispel inertia, suppress emotions, meditate quickly and base your stand upon Satva, and this meditation is the pathway to knowledge.

Sāndilya : Let my master contemplate yoga with a well composed mind and I shall with a well composed mind contemplate food.

Parivrājaka : Let us put a stop to this. Compress this worlds into your body, connect your senses with the soul and unify all souls into one, and through wisdom seek refuge in truth.

(Then enter a courtesan and two maids)

Gunika : O Madhkarika, where is Ramilaka, where is he?

Maid : Ajjuka, promising to return he has gone to the city.

Ganika : Friend, what could this mean?

Maid : He has hastened only to join the company.

Ganika : Has not that company broken up yet?

Maid : O Ajjuka. thou speakest well. The company is only a liquor which intoxicates and makes modest woman laugh.

Ganika : Go and hasten (his return).

Maid : O Ajjuka, I shall do so. (She goes out).

Ganika : O Parabrtika, where shall we sit down?

Maid : Let Ajjuka sit for a short while on this stone slab adorned by the mango tree in full blossom and sing a song.

Ganika : O Parabrtika, may it be so.

(They both sit and sing.)

Cupid in this garden, twanging his bow string represented by the voices of the cuckoo and the bee, stands here with his arrows of mango flowers and infatuates even sages here.

Sāndilya : (Hearing) Ha ! The song of a cuckoo! No surely, it is not a cuckoo singing. What can it be? (Thinking). Well it seems to be some music sweet as *Pāyasam* mixed with ghee. Who is the singer? I shall see. (Going a little distance and observing). Who is this young beautiful woman adorned with decorations of superior excellence who is almost an ornament to this garden?

Maid : Ajjuka?

Sāndilya : Really, master, this is a courtesan. Surely blessed are the rich.

Maid : Let Ajjuka sing another song.

Courtesan : (Sings again).

With pride roused by the month of Madhu,
Assisted by the sidelong look of lustful women,
With the full blown Asokas for his arrows,
Cupid splits the mind of even yogis here.

Sāndilya : Excessive sweetness flows from her mouth. Master, listen.

Parivrājaka : Hearing a voice to please the ear! I shall not get attached here.

Sāndilya : If only you have money with you now, you will get attached to her.

Parivrājaka : Oh, do not be impertinent.

Sāndilya : Please do not be angry. It doesn't become an ascetic to be angry.

Parivrājaka : Now I stop talking.

Sāndilya : Now you seem learned. (Then enters the servant of Yama)

Yamapurusha : Oh here :

By that destroyer Yama, who removes creatures that have completed their *karma* in the world, who is a witness to the acts, good and evil, of beings was I ordered thus to 'separate lives from bodies whose period ends'.

Therefore,

Looking over the earth comprising of various countries,
Rivers, forests, and mountains,
Being well concealed by clouds hanging low under the weight of water,
Passing through the skies blown by winds and inhabited by the Charanas, Siddhas and Kinnaras,
Ordered by Yama. I have reached the town rightly guessed.

Now, where is she? (Looking round), Ha here she is!

Like a ray of the moon hidden by a cluster of evening clouds,
This woman of tender limbs shines concealed
By the sprouts of the colour of burning gold,
And by lovely bunches of Asoka flowers.

Let it be. She has still a little more *karma* left. I shall wait sometime and then take her life.

Maid : Ajjuka, this Asoka sprout is really beautiful to look at. I shall cut it.

Ganika : No, no. I shall take it myself.

Yamapurusha : This is the time to bite her. I shall transform myself into a snake and, hiding in the branch of the Asoka tree, I shall take away her life.

That young lady in her prime of youth, of clear face and sweet speech,
Amorous with broad hips and smeared with superior sandal,
With eyes like the red lotus pleasing to the sight
Quickly let him take her, to the abode of Yama.

(Ganika collects the sprouts)

Yamapurusha : This is the time for biting her.

Ganika : Hum! I am bitten by something;

Maid : (Looking at the branch of the tree) Ajjuka, here is the serpent hiding among the Asoka sprouts.

Ganika : Yes. It is a serpent (thus crying she falls down)

Sāndilya : (Approaching) Madam, what is this?

Maid : This Ajjuka is bitten by a serpent.

Sāndilya : Alas! Oh master. This daughter of a courtesan has been bitten by a serpent.

Parivrājaka : It must be as a result of her *karma* having been exhausted.

To experience their own *karma* living beings generally take birth.

When this *karma* is exhausted the embodied beings take another birth.

Maid : Is it painful?

Ganika : It looks as if my body is sinking and my life revolving within me. I desire to lie down.

Maid : Let Ajjuka lie down at ease.

Ganika : Salute my mother on my behalf.

Maid : Verily, you yourself can go and salute her.

Ganika : And Ramilaka also. (she faints)

Maid : Alas! Ajjuka is really dead.

Yamapurusha-Her life has been removed. Here am I :

Having crossed the Ganges, the Vindhyas, the Narmada with its holy waters,
The Goliya, Krisnavenna, the abode of Pasupati, Suprayoga and Kanchi,
The Cauvery, the Tambaraparani, the Malaya mountains and the sea,
And having crossed Lanka as speedey as the wind, I have reached the country of Yama,
Here is the banyan tree with its extensive branches. I shall take the life to Chitragupta seated here.

Maid : Ah! Ajjuka,

Sāndilya : Master, this courtesan's daughter is giving up her life,

Parivrājaka : Fool, life is dear to creatures, therefore you should say that the body is abandoned by life.

Sāndilya : You merciless, unaffectionate, hard-hearted, wicked, hypocritical, cruel rogue and false ascetic, get away.

Parivrājaka: What do you mean?

Sāndilya : I Shall shower hundred and eight such names on you.

Parivrājaka : Do as you please.

Sāndilya : O master. I am very much grieved.

Parivrājaka : For what reason?

Sāndilya : She is one among us.

Parivrājaka : How can she be one among us?

Sāndilya : This woman also, like the parivrājakas, has fixed her affection nowhere.

Parivrājaka : It is properly said that a person whose affection is hard to secure becomes attached if more money is given. For,

> They that are free from wickedness and intent upon moksha
> Tread along the path indicated by shastras.
> Even their heart, averse to pleasure,
> Inclines towards virtue.

Sāndilya : I am unable to stand this. I shall go near and weep.

Parivrājaka : You should never go there.

Sāndilya : Do not be angry. It does not become a Parivrajaka to be offended. (Going near) Alas! Ajjuka, alas! Thou endowed with affection! O sweet songstress!

Maid : Sir, what is this?

Sāndilya : Madam, this is friendship.

Maid : (to herself). It is proper that good people are sympathetic towards all.

Sāndilya : Madam, I shall now feel her.

Maid : Verily, you are competent to do so.

Sāndilya : Alas! madam (touches her feet)

Maid : Do not touch her feet.

Sāndilya : O I am very much agitated. I cannot distinguish between the head and the feet. These breasts of the woman fat like the fruits of the palmyra tree and smeared with saffron and sandals have not been obtained by me, an unfortunate person, when she was alive.

Maid : (aside) This shall I do now (aloud) Sir, please look after Ajjuka for a short time while I get her mother.

Sāndilya : Go thou quickly. Verily I am the mother of the motherless.

Maid : (to herself) This Brahmin who is sympathetic will not abandon Ajjuka. Let me go. (exit)

Sāndilya : She has now gone, I shall weep to my satisfaction. Ha Ajjuka, Ha sweet songstress (thus he weeps).

Parivrājaka ; Sandilya, this shall not be done with her.

Sāndilya : Get away, you think I am also like you, devoid of affection for any one.

Parivrājaka : Come boy, study now.

Sāndilya : Can this helpless sufferer be revived?

Parivrājaka : Are there any medical means that you know of?

Sāndilya : The fruit of your yoga is impure.

Parivrājaka : (aside) Verily, this ascetic owing to ignorance as to his duties, does not know the behaviour of hermits. I have heard from Mahesvara and other great yoga teachers that sympathy towards a disciple and attachment on that account does not affect. Therefore I shall create some faith in him as to what yoga is by entering into the body of the courtean.

Ganika : (Having got up) Sandilya, Sandilya!

Sāndilya : (Happily) Here she is alive. She has really come back to life. Here am I.

Ganika : Do not touch me with unwashed hands.

Sāndilya : Very pure is she.

Ganika : Come, boy, study.

Sāndilya : Study even here! I shall go back to my master. (approaching.)

Oh Master, Oh he is dead. Ah, you talkative man
rich in yoga!

Alas! teacher. Thus even those who know much are
subject to death!

(Then enter the mother and the maid)

Maid : Come, come, mother.

Mother : Where is my daughter?

Maid : Ajjuka was bitten by a serpent in the garden.

Mother : Oh, I am undone, an unfortunate woman.

Maid : Be calm. Âjjuka is alive.

Mother : Is she normal? (Approaching), Child Vasantasena, what is this?

Ganika : Oh irreligious old woman, do not touch me.

Mother : Fie, what is this?

Maid : The severity of the poison has affected her.

Mother ; Run quickly, and fetch the physician.

Maid : All right, mother. (exit)

(Enter Ramilaka and the maid)

Maid : Be victorious, Sir, Ajjuka is longing to see you and is burning with love.

Ramilaka : Of sweet and lisping speech, and of large eyes,
Is the lady from whose mouth I desire to drink,
Like the bee which sucks honey, from the tender and full. blown lotus

(Approaching). How is it that at the sight of me she has turned away her face? (catching hold of the end of her garment). Oh, lady of well-formed limbs! turn a little,

Thy face resembling a lotus surrounded by waves,
Like water drunk little by little from the hollow of the hand,
Thy countenance partially exposed causes immense pleasure.

Ganika : O vicious man, leave off the end of my garment.

Ramilaka : Lady, what is this?

Maid : Ever since she has been bitten by the serpent she has been inconsistent.

Ramilaka : That is so.

O sorrowful lady, certainly her soul has left her,
And in the vacant body has entered some one of a purer soul.

Maid : Come, sir, (Entering).

Physician : Where is she?

Maid : Here is Ajjuka, not in her senses, but she has been attacked and bitten by a big serpent.

* * * * *

Maid : How do you know, sir?

Physician : It has brought a great change. Bring her to me. I shall begin the Sarvarambha spoken of in the books on poisons. (Sitting down and making a circle on the ground). Oh, serpent of zigzag movement, enter this circle. Son of Vasuki, stop there I shall sever your head. Where is my sword?

Ganika : Oh fool of a physician! Enough of your exertions.

Physician : There is also bile in action. I shall destroy your bile, wind, and phlegm.

Ramilaka : Sir, try your best we are not ungrateful at all.

Physician : I shall bring the snake doctor Sundara Gulika. (exit.)

(Enters Yamapurusha)

Yamapurusha : Oh, I am censured by Yama thus,

She is not that Vasanthasena, quickly take her back,
With life exhausted is another Vasanthasena, bring her down here.

Before her body is consigned to fire, I shall make her come back to life. (Looking round). Here she has got up. Oh what is this? Her life is in my hands and this great woman has risen now, a great wonder is this here not seen on earth before. (Looking around on all sides).

Oh here is a yogi ascetic sporting. What shall I do now? Let it be, I understand. Having placed the life of this courtesan in the body of this ascetic, I shall transfer them to their proper places after their work is over. (having done so) Unto this Brahmin's body the life of this woman shall enter,

Though fused, shall yet be different in regard to their nature and character. (exit)

Parivrājaka : (Having got up) Parabritika, Parabritikā!

Sāndilya : Verily, master has come back to life. I think that people who are to endure misery have no death.

Parivrājaka : Where is Ramilaka?

Ramilaka : Sir, I am here.

Sāndilya : Master, what is this? The left hand which ought to carry a kamandalu seems to be adorned with bangles of conch.

Parivrājaka : Ramilaka, embrace me.

Sāndilya : Go and embrace the Kimsaka tree.

Parivrājaka : I am really amorous.

Sāndilya : Not at all; you are surely mad.

Ramilaka : This talk is inconsistent with your asceticism.

Parivrājaka : I shall drink liquor.

Sāndilya : Drink poison. Let it be, I shall measure his mockery. It is neither master nor Ajjuka; but a combination of Bhagavan and Ajjuka. Let it be.

Parivrājaka : Parabhritika, Parabbritika, embrace me.

Maid : Get away.

Mother : Oh Vasantasena.

Parivrājaka : Mother. here am I. I bow to you, mother.

Mother : Sir, what means this?

Parivrājaka : Mother, do you not recognize me? Ramilaka, verily you delay too long.

Ramilaka : I do not comprehend this

Sāndilya : I shall see

(Enter Physician)

Physician : Eight pills have I brought as well as medicine. I shall know in a moment whether the person will live or die. Water, water.

(maid entering)

Maid ; Here is water.

Physician : I shall powder the pills and mix them. Oh, she has not been bitten but she has been possessed.

Ghanika : You fool of a physician, who has grown old in vain, you do not know the end of living beings. Say that she has not been killed by a serpent.

Physician : What wonder, is there?

Ghanika : Is there any sastra?

Physician : There is really plenty, even one and a half thousand.

Ghanika : Quote from the science of medicine.

Physician : Listen, lady. People of *Vātham*, those of *Pittam* and those of Sle-O my book,my book.

Sāndilya : Ha, how learned is the physician! He has forgotten even the first word. Let it be, he is my companion. Here is the book.

Physician : Listen, lady :

> Those of *Vātha*, *pitta*, and *slesha* of deadly poison
> Are the three kinds of serpents, but the fourth is not known.

Ghanika : This is incorrect. You should say '*Trayah*, *Sarpah*' for *Trīni* becomes neuter.

Physician : Ha, she should have been bitten by the grammarian serpent.

Ghanika : What are the various effects of poison?

Physician : There are a hundred.

Ghanika : No, no, they are only seven and they are as follows: Terror, oral dryness, discolouration and shiver, hiccup, gasping and fainting are the seven changes wrought by poison. One who shows symptoms beyond the seven cannot be treated even by the Asvins. If you have anything more to say, please say it.

Physician : This is beyond my power. Salutations to you. Let me go. (Exit)

(Yamapursha entering)

Yamapurusha : Here am I :

By abortion, boils. fever, ear diseases,
Spleen enlargement, colic, troubles of the heart, eye and head,
And now with the aid of other diseases
Swiftly to Yamapura lives are directed.

Let me now carry out my master's orders. (Approaching the courtesan) Sir, please abandon this irreligious woman's body.

Ganika : Just as you wish.

Yamapurusha : Let me now interchange their souls and attend to my business. (Doing so, exit).

Parivrājaka : Sāndilya, Sāndilya!

Sāndilya : Here is master settled once again.

Ghanika : Parabritika, Parabritika!

Maid : Here is Ajjuka speaking normally.

Mother : Oh daughter Vasantasena?

Ramilaka : Oh you have come back to consciousness. Dear Vasantasena, come this way.

(Exeuent Ghanika, Ramilaka, maid, and mother with her followers)

Sāndilya : Master, what is this?

Parivrājaka : Surely, this is a long story. I shall relate it to you at our residence. (Looking in all directions).

The day is passed, the sun has set and clings to the edge of the sky,
Like a heap of melted gold in the mouth of a crucible:
By whose lustre illuminated the cluster of clouds,
Makes the sky appear as if impregnated with fire.
Let prosperity prevail in all the world!
May the hosts of living beings devote themselves to the welfare of others!
May all blemishes perish!
And let there be happiness throughout the universe!

Indian Summer at Petra

G. R. H. Wright

In a recent issue of East and West, H. Goetz added a romantic Ghazal to the Ostliche-Westliche Diwan. He identified an unfinished early Indian temple at Petra in Transjordan.[1] Using a photograph published by Margaret Murray as P 17 in *Petra The Rock City of Edom* (London, 1939), which gives a general view of this free-standing rock-cut monument beside the entrance to the Sīq[2], he was able to show that "the similarity to some Temples in India is amazing." (fig. 1)[3]

The Nabataean trading province extended to India and further east and there are in fact interesting Eastern (Chinese etc.) trading directories mentioning Petra (*Reqem*) which are reasonably accessible in English translation. The perspicuity of Hermann Goetz in looking for and finding this material exemplification of a connection known from literary sources is thus highly welcome and commendable.

Admittedly the Indian monuments which Goetz cites group themselves in the sixth-seventh centuries AD while monumental activity at Petra fades away by the third century AD. However, Goetz is able to suggest circumstances which reduce this apparent difficulty.[4] And there is simply no gainsaying the resemblance. Other Indian monuments might well be mentioned in this connection, e.g. the free-standing rock-cut *rathas* at Mahabalipuram of Pallava times.[5] As Herr Goetz says, the similarity of the monument shown in Margaret Murray's photograph to some temples in India is indeed amazing.

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1. v. H. Goetz An Unfinished Early Indian Temple in Petra, Transjordan East and West NS 24 1974 up 245-248.

2. Another general view from a different angle made very recenily is conveniently accessible in ZDPV 88_2 1972 Pl 15a (V. G. R. H. Wright Petra, Some Unusual Views pp 182ff).

3. x. Goetz op cit p246

4. v. Ibid pp247-8

5. c. f. (for convenience) P. Brown

Unfortunately however the similarity indicated in the photograph does not extend to the monument itself on the ground at Petra.[6] This, in form. is associated with the Middle Eastern category of "The Tower (Tomb)" and the local name of the genre at Petra (repeated by Goetz p246) is Sahrij.[7] There are numbers of these features about Petra, finished and unfinished-some containing small chambers and some without (as here). In view of the close association of the funerary and the cultic at Petra, where no evident funerary arrangements exist, it has been conjectured that the towers might have been monumental Dushara symbols or altars (Dalman calls them altargrāben)[8]

They bear architectural ornament in all the earlier modes known at Petra. This one, by its detailing, is known to belong to the category designated *Hegrtyp* by Brunnow and Domascewski.[9] This characterises the earlier stages of Hellenistic influence in Petra where architectural motifs and details of classic origin were applied to traditional Middle-Eastern forms which previously bore local style architectural ornament. In short Greek capitals and entablatures appear in addition to, and then in place of, the traditional crow-stepping, stepped "angle horns"

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[6] The monument has been noted by every Visitor to Petra from Burckhardt onwards because of its salient position in the Bab el Síq, - the open declivity just outside the entrance to the Síq, the narrow winding fissure leading into the bowl of Petra

[7] This name, apparently, was first applied in the present instance by Musil. Sahrij is used in colloquial Arabic at various places (e. g. in the Hejaz) for cisterns and water-tanks to which these block-like monuments may be thought to show some resemblance.

A useful notice of their occurrence is given by Sir A Kennedy Petra London 1925 p41. He notes some 26 examples concentrated in 3 different localities (as here outside and on the approaches to the bowl of Petra. They are block towers some 20 to 30 feet high. About half of them are devoid of any chamber or receptacle (as here), the others contain small chambers and in some intance cist graves have been cut into the upper surface.

Kennedy gives a general view (fig 193) and a detailed phtotgraph (fig 69) of Goetz' monument. This group of monuments are also given notice by I. Browning Petra London 1973 v. figs 22, 48 and p106. Here the name Djin Block is reported and he notes that they seem to occur in the vicinity of water canalisation (c. f. the name Sahrij).

[8] c. G. Dalman Petra und seine Felsheiligtumer Leipzig 1908 Altargrab No, 6-abb2, p105.

[9] v. R.E. Brunnow and Domascewshi Die Provincia Arabia Strasburg 1909 vol 1 pass.

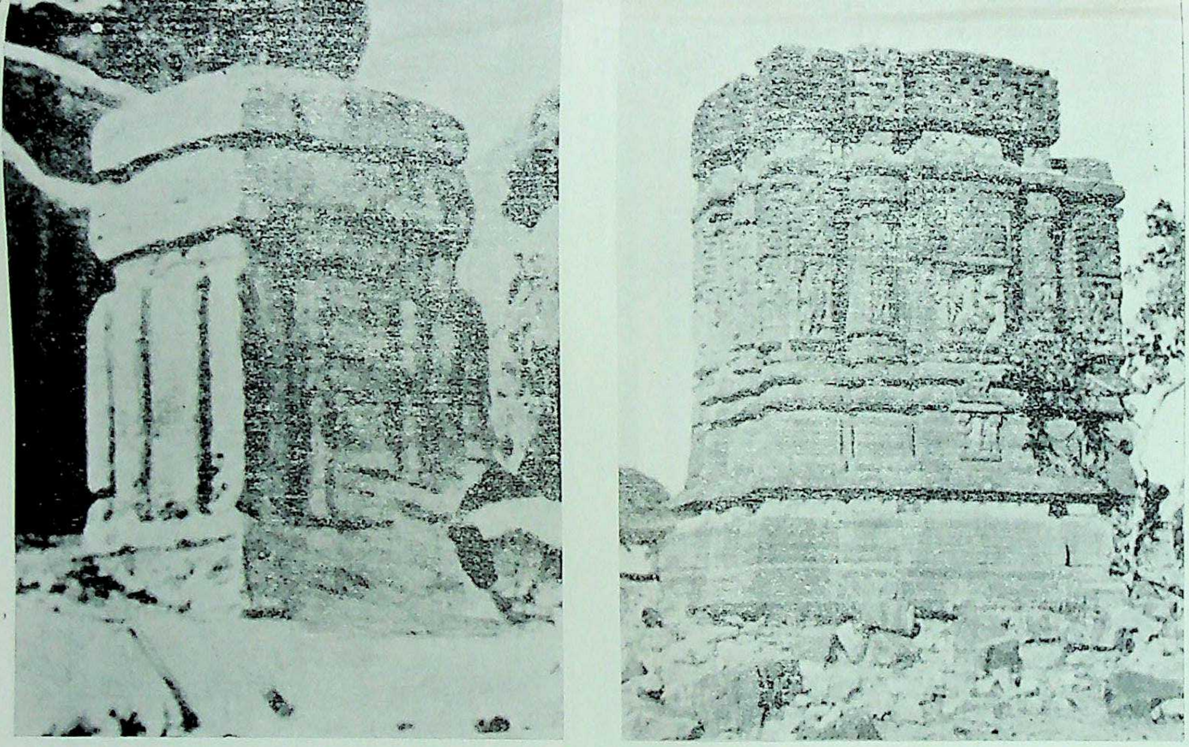

Fig. 1.

Photographs published by H. Goetz showing similarity between a monument at Petra and an Indian temple.

'Sahrij' Monument in Bab el Siq at Petra (Margaret Murray's photograph as reproduced by Goetz)

Surya (Sun) Temple at Chitorgarh, India (Goetz)

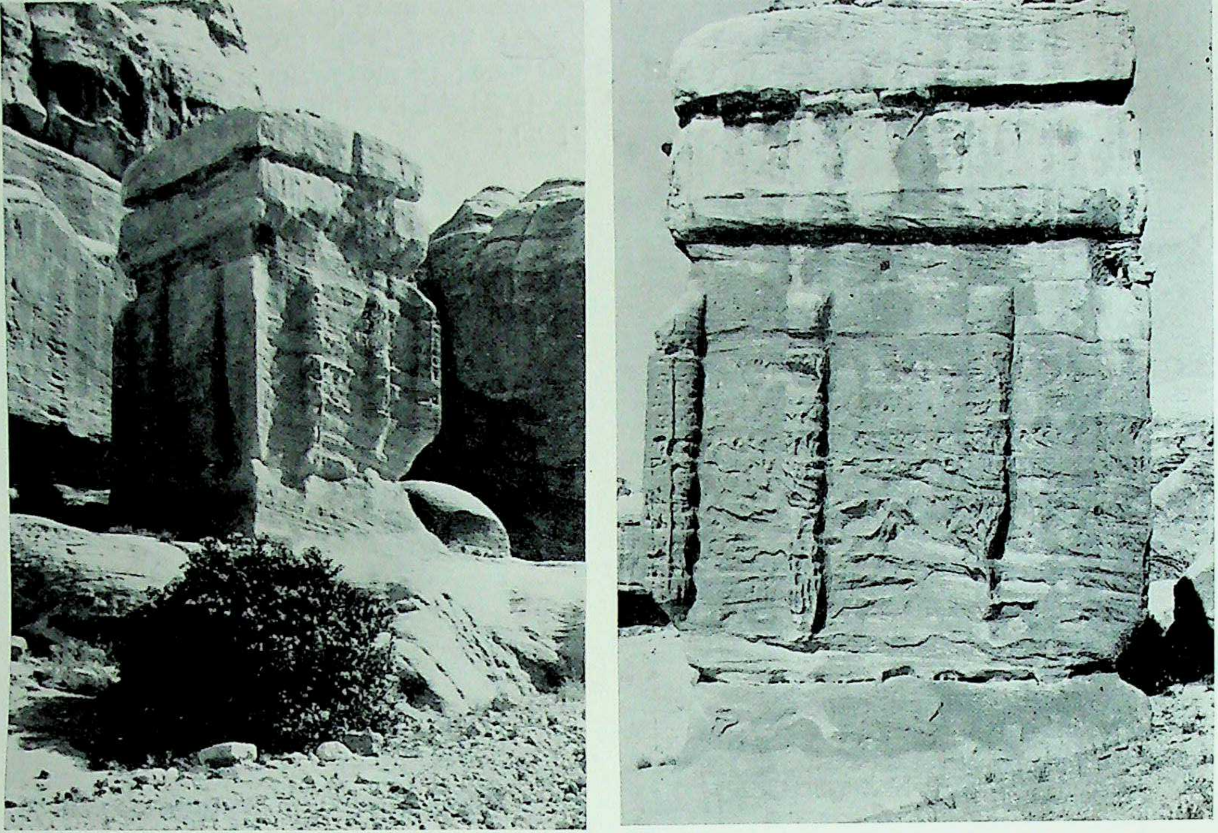

Fig. 2.

Recent Photographs of 'Sahrij' Monument in Bab el Siq.

Note clear indication of Hegrtyp architectural ornament with chases cut in natural rock for insetting cornices etc. in different stones.

and cavetto cornices etc.[10] In the monument under discussion the nature of this detailing is not wholly apparent to casual view because of weathering and the falling way of inset cornices.[11] However some recently made photographs[12] of this interesting Petra monument (fig 2) clearly show its ordonnance of engaged half-columns and the highly characteristic angle feature of coupled pilaster and quarter column (derived from the free standing 'cordiform' angle feature of pier with engaged half-columns)[13]. These were crowned with the draught from Corinthian capital known as Nabataean or Bossenform.[14] The Hellenistic antecedents of all these motifs, particularly Alexandria, have been closely marked and such an ordonnance does not occur in Indian architecture.[15] (fig. 3)

As Herr Goetz says "Good luck has brought to my notice an interesting ruin in Petra". This ruin, as well as most and more than most, raises many highly interesting fundamental questions regarding the origin of the earliest traditions of surviving Indian stone masonry and rock cutting. Traditions which, of course, go back to the field of oriental Hellenism as the Indians themselves were so determined to emphasise (mis) representing their early dynastic rulers as Pallava (Pahlavas) and Chalukya (Seleudids) etc. However so far as an Early Indian Temple at Petra is concerned, one can only add "Better luck next time."

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10. The basis of Brunnow and Domascewski's typology of Petra architectural ornament (together with that of Dalman) is summarised by G. R. H. Wright The Khazne at Petra in ADAJ VI 1962 p38. I. Browning Petra chapt. 4 re-examines the process of development informatively.

11. Indeed some of the similarities in appearance with the Indian monument which impressed Goets arise from reading Margaret Murray's photograph in reverse-i.e. taking the cuttings for the original projecting cornices as recesses etc.

12. These photographs were kindly made available to me by Dr. E. Brummer of the Hamburg Museum.

13. This feature is discussed and explained in some detail by G.R.H. Wright The Arched Gate at Petra in PEQ Dec. 1961 pp 129.

14. An expose of the "Nabataean Capital" and its background is given in G. K. H. Wright A Nabataean Capital in the Salamis Gymnasium Praktika tou Kypriologikou Synedriou Nicosia 1972 pp175ffr

14. v. ibid pp176-7.

Kattanaiparumar

Natana. Kasinathan

Among the number of hero-stones discovered in recent years in Dharmapuri district by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, five belong to Kaṭṭāṉaiparumar, a king almost unknown to historians. Till recently the name was read as Kaṭṭiṉaiparumar. In view of the similarity between the letter 'ṭā' in 'Paṭṭār' and the hitherto read letter 'ṭi' in Kaṭṭiṉaiparumar, the letter 'ti' in Kaṭṭiṉaipa has to be read as 'ṭā' and the name read as Kaṭṭāṉaiparumar. The five hero-stones mentioned above come from five remote villages, Chinnatti[1], Ramakrishnampathi[2], Pottankottai[3], Kailavaram[4] and Nayakkanur.[5]

They are engraved in the fifth, tenth, twentysixth, thirty seventh and Forty-seventh regnal years respectively implying that Kaṭṭāṉaiparumar ruled for a long period of forty seven years. A king who had a long reign period of nearly fifty years must have been a really powerful monarch. But his identity is still a mystery.

No king is found in the Pallava, Bāṇa, Noḷambha, Kadamba and Gaṅga dynasties with Kaṭṭānaiparumar as his name. But from the record copied from Pottankottai it can be easily inferred that he may have belonged to the Gaṅga dynasty since the record begins with the words, "Ciri Piruti Koṅgaṇi Kaṭṭāṉaiparumar."

The first Gaṅga ruler is called Koṅgaṇivarmaṉ. He belonged to the fifth century A. D. The palaeography of the inscriptions of Kaṭṭāṉaiparumar may not be assignable to a period earlier than the eighth century A. D. Therefore, this 'Ciri-Piruti Koṅgaṇi would not be Koṅgaṇivarmaṉ, the first ruler of the Gaṅga dynasty.

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[1] Copied by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeoloy, unpublished 1975/88.

[2] Dharmapuri Naḍukarkaḷ, Edited by Dr. R. Nagaswami, 1972/41.

[3] Ibid. 1972/24.

[4] Ibid, 1973/5.

[5] Ibid, 1972/28.

There was another Koṅgaṇivarmaṉ who is mentioned in inscriptions as Pritvi Koṅgaṇi.[6] He is none other than Srīpurușha, the illustrious Gaṅga ruler. He also bore surnames such as Koṅgaṇi Muttarasa[7] and "Kaḍḍāṇe". The surname 'Kaḍḍāṇe' is curious with regard to the identity of Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar because "Kaḍḍāṇe" in Kannada could have been Tamilised into Kaṭṭānai. Suffixing "parumar" the name could have become Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar.

In another respect too this identification seems to be plausible. Srīpurușha is said to have ruled for a long period of 62 years (726-788 A. D.). Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar is said to have ruled for 47 years, according to the Nayakkanur record.

One may be led to identify Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar with Krishṇa I (756-775 A. D.) of the Rāșhṭrakūṭa dynasty. He also seems to have waged wars in this region. But he does not seem to have had either "Katti" or "Kaḍḍāṇe" as his title. He had one surname i. e. Kannarasar. That title cannot be identified with Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar. Further, he does not appear to have ruled for the long period of 47 years.

The Bādāmi Chāḷukya king, Kīrthivarman I, who ruled from 566 to 597 A. D. is said to have borne the title of Kattiyarasar. This title may also be related with Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar. But the period in which Kīrthivarman ruled was much earlier than that of Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar whose period is assignable to the eighth-ninth century A.D. on palaeographical grouuds.

One Kaṭṭiarasaṉ figures as a donor during the reign of Srīvallabha[9]. He was a native of Tirukkuṉṟakkuḍi of

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6. No. 91, Tumkur Taluk, Epi, Car. Vol. XVI.
7. No. 78, Kolar Taluk, Epi. Car. Vol. XVII.
8. No. 95, Tumkur Taluk, Epi. Car. Vol. XVI.
9. S.I.I. Vol. XIV, No. 217, p. 124.

Tēnāṟṟuppōkku. Since he seems to hove been an ordinary individual he cannot be identified with Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar.

In an earlier article Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar has been identified with Sivamāra II, the son of Srīpuruṣha, on the basis of a note found in Epigraphia Carnatica[10]. While editing an inscription of Sivamāra the editor has added a note that Sivamāra II might have had a title, Katti arasan. But Sivamara's inscription do not seem to have used ' Cirī Piruthi Koṅgaṇi ' Therefore with more certainty Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar may be identified with Srīpurusha as he had Kaḍḍāṇe as one of his surnames. The palaeography of the epigraph of Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar and Srīpuruṣha is also in similar characters.

There is a village known as Kaṭrasanpēṭṭai in Dharmapuri district. It is very near Kailāvaram where the epigraph bearing the 37th regnal year of Kaṭṭāṇaiparumar has been copied. This Kaṭrasanpēṭṭai may in all probability be the shortened form of Kaṭṭāṇaiarasaṉpaṭṭi.

The texts of the above mentioned five inscriptions are as follows :

I. *Chiṉṉaṭṭi Inscription*

1. Svastiśrī Kaṭṭāṇaiparumaṟku yāṇḍu aindāvadu
2. vēṭṭuvatiaraiyar cēvakar Kumārappammar
3. makkaḷ Māraṟṟurāḷā [nirka] tambi iruvarum
4. Vēlūrt toṟu miṭṭup paṭṭār,

II. *Rāmakrishṇampati Inscription :*

1. Svastiśrī Kaṭṭāṇaiparumaṟku yāṇḍu pa-
2. ttāvadu perumbāṇati arai [yar]... ga [ṅga]
3. nāḍāḷa ativakūr toṟu... ko-
4. ṇḍa ñāṉṟu paṭṭāṉ Paṭṭā...
5. laṉ
6. ... ṟu miṭṭāṉ ka...

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[10] Tolliyal Kaṭṭuraikaḷ (Tamil), Natana. Kasinathan, page 84-85.

III. *Pōttaṉkōṭṭai inscription* :

1. Ciri piruti koṅgaṇi Kaṭṭāṇai paru-
2. maṟku yāṇḍirupattāṟāvadu Kōvūr nā-
3. ḍu ciṅga-
4. perumaraiya-
5. rāḷa avar cē–
6. vakar Kīḷaka-
7. ṉpāḍi u-
8. ḍaiya Vāṇika-
9. ttāḻi maṟi
10. toṟu mīṭṭu-
11. ppaṭṭāṉ

IV. *Kailāvaram Inscription* :

1. Śrī Kaṭṭāṇaiparumaṟku yāṇḍu muppattē-
2. ḻāvadu Kandavāṇati araiyar puṟamalai nā-
3. ḍāḷa aruṭṭiṟaiyār toṟukkoṇḍa
4. ñāṉṟu Amaranīliyār cēvakar
5. Paiyaccāttaṉār to
6. ṟu mīṭṭu
7. paṭṭār kal.

V. *Nāyakkanūr inscription* :

1. Śrī Kaṭṭāṇaiparumaṟku nār-
2. pattēḻāvadu perumbāṇatiya-
3. [rāḷa] mēṟ [Kōva] lūrreṟinda ñā-
4. [ṉṟu] .... ṇaraiyar cēva
5. kar...ma...
6. ...ṟeṟintu paṭṭār taṭṭānēri [mu] talma-
7. llupaṭṭi·
8. ...ṉarpaṭ
9. ......
10. ṇār

An Inscribed South Indian Bronze of 13th Cent A. D.

V. Radhakrishnan

[The study of South Indian bronzes is assuming greater significance, with the increasing number of bronzes with inscriptions brought to light in recent years. The style of Chola bronzes ranging from 950 A.D. to 1050 A.D. for about one hundred years is now well attested by a number of bronzes dated with the help of inscriptions by T. N. Ramachandran, R. Nagaswamy, Douglas Berrett, P.R. Srinivasan, C. Sivaramamurti and others. Karl Kandalwala's illuminating review on the subject in Lalit Kala is equally important for a proper appreciation. The style of Vijayanagar bronzes has also been discussed, though some recent finds tend to show two different trends in the same period. The transition between the later Chola to the Vijayanagar is not yet well defined. The bronzes published in Damilica Volume I, from Virapandi village, show the trend under the 13th and 14th Century, Pandyas, particularly in the extreme south. The present find of a Pradoshanayakar bronze, bearing the name of the Pallava chieftain Kopperunjinga, assignable to 1265 A. D. by V. Radhakrishnan is an important contribution to the understanding of the style of the period.—The Editor.]

Tamilnadu is rich in bronze images dating from the Pallava period to the present day. There are a number of extraordinary pieces still under worship in the various Siva and Vishnu temples all over the State not to speak of the rare pieces housed at the Government Museum. Madras and the Art Gallery, Thanjavur. The Kūram Nataraja and Kodumudi Vishnu are good examples of Pallava art while the Nataraja of Thiruvalangadu and the Ardhanāri, Vrshavāhana and Kalyanasundara of Tiruvenkadu are some of the masterpieces of Chola style.

There are some lovely images of Pandya and Vijayanagar periods too.

Recently some inscribed bronze images have been located by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. Among them the Senaimudali of Tiruccherai belonging to the late Pallava period, the Umādevi of the early Chola period (Parantaka I) and the Uma Bhatari of the late Chōla period are quite interesting finds.

Very recently the State Department of Archaeology has come across another inscribed bronze image. This image of Pradoshamurti is in the Siva temple at Tirthanagari (called Tiruthinainagar in inscriptions), a small village 40 Kms. from Chidambaram in South Arcot district The pedestal of this 46 Cm high image has a Tamil inscription on it in two lines, which reads.

" *Swasti Śrī Sakalabhuvana Cakravarti Kōpperuñjiṅgaṉ* ".

Kopperunjinga, a prominent Kāḍava chieftain who was originally a feudatory of the Cholas, rose in revolt against Rajaraja III. attacked him at Tellaru and imprisoned him at Sendamangalam at a time when the Chola and Pandya rulers were very weak.[1] The fact that he ruled independently the whole of Naḍu Nāḍu and Tondaimandalam, i. e , the area extending from the northern part of Thanjavur district as far as Draksharāma and Tripurantakam in Andhra Pradesh, is evident from the fact that a number of inscriptions relating to the various regnal years of his rule are found scattered in these places. He ruled this area for fairly a long period of 36 years from 1243 A. D. to 1279 A. D.[2]

Though we have a number of inscriptions which tell us that this illustrious Kāḍava king has constructed a number of temples and made numerous gifts[3], we have not so far come across any bronze image that could definitely be assigned to his

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1. கோப்பெருஞ்சிங்கன் - எஸ். ஆர். பாலசுப்பிரமணியம், பக்கம் 91.
2. The Cōlas, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. P. 430.
3. Ibid.

period. This Pradoshamurti image with its usual characteristic features, namely, the upper hands of Siva carrying the deer and the battle axe, the lower right hand in *abhaya* pose and the lower left hand in the attitude of embracing His consort, Pārvati, and the latter in *tribhanga* pose, carrying the lotus flowe in Her right hand, can stylistically be assigned to the thirteenth century. The inscription on this image helps us to date it to the same period, since the Tamil characters give the name of the chieftain as Sakala Bhuvana Chakravarti Kopperunjinga obviously refering to the dedication of the image by the chieftain.

Thus this rare image of Pradoshamurti may be assigned to the period between 1243 A. D. and 1279 A.D., the period when Kopperunjinga ruled this part of the country.

It is interesting to mention that an inscription of this ruler Kopperunjinga, dated in his 22nd year is found on the wall of the Sivankuresvara temple, at Thirthnagari, where this image is found. It records "the remission of a number of specified taxes on Devadana and Thirunamattukkāni lands and on the village Thiruttinainagar, made by the chief, in order to meet the expenses of offerings, lamps, festivals etc. in the temple of Thiruthinai nagarudaiyar"[4]

The ruler has taken great interest in the temple and the present image may be assigned to the period (1265 AD) of this lithic record. It is an important bronze which stands between the Chola and Vijayanagar periods. The inscription on the pedestal, helps us in fixing the date closely. The lingering later Chola idiom is clearly moving away from the classical refinement towards a heaviness and stiffness characteristic of the Nāyak school.

The close dating also proves that stylistic dating of bronzes is not wholly wrong for even without the inscription scholars would have assigned this bronze to the end of the 13th century.

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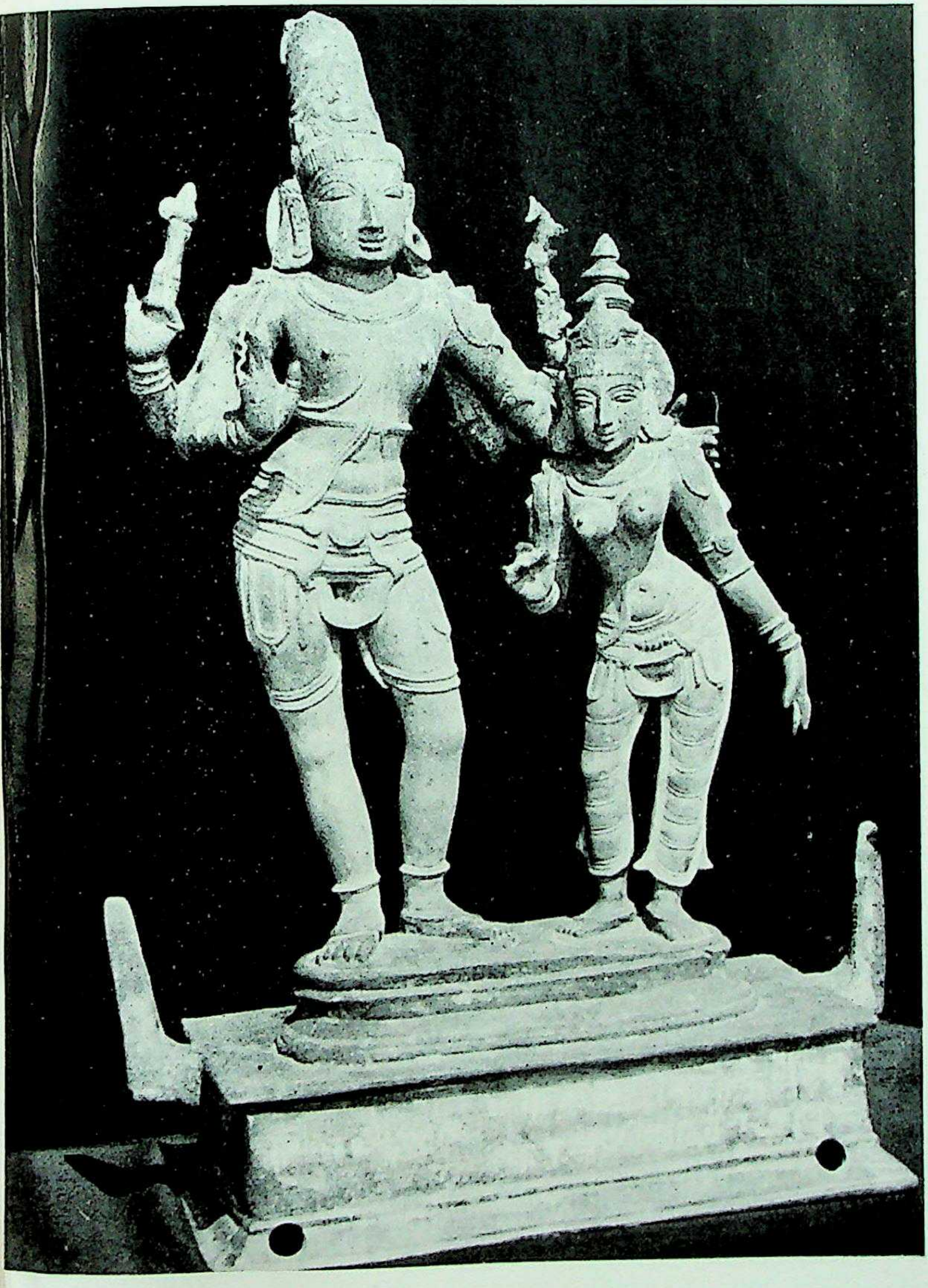
[4] 221 of S.I.I. Vol. 12.



Pradoshanayakar—Bronze with inscription on the pedestal reading "Swasti Sri. Sakalabhuvana chakravarti Kopperunjingan-" From Thirthanagari, about 1265 A.D.

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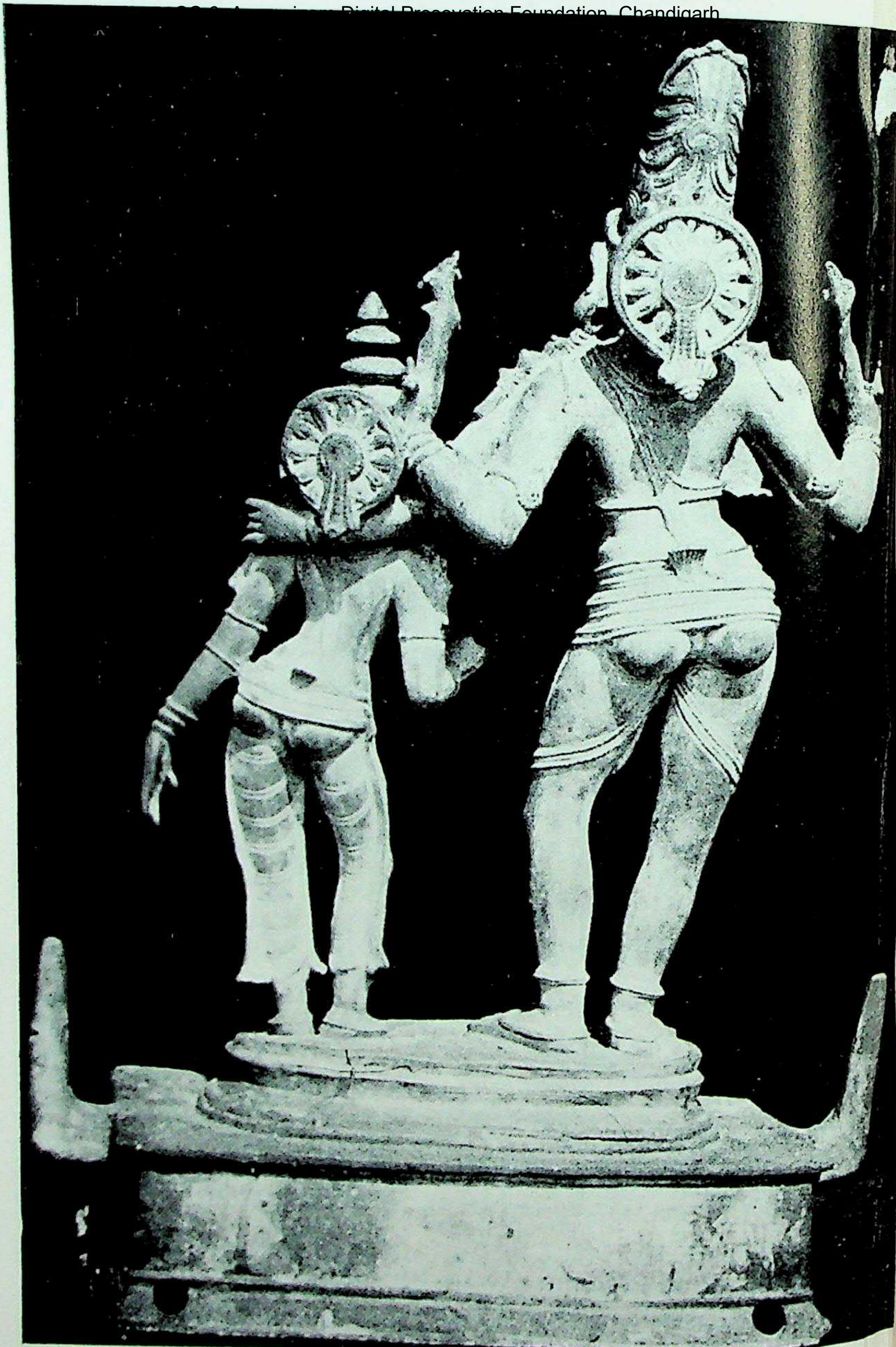

Pradoshanayakar, Bronze — Back view.

Elavanasur Inscriptions

M. Arunachalam

Elavanasur is a small village near Ulundurpet in South Arcot district. The area was part of Tondaimandalam in the distant past. In the reign of Raja Raja Chola I the area was designated as Jayankonda Chola mandalam in honour of the Emperor, one of whose titles was Jayankonda Chola. When the Chola empire was divided into different provinces (*Vaḷanāḍu*), this area, which was formerly Maladu (*Malaiyamān nādu*) and also Chēdinadu, now came to be called *Jananātha Vaḷanāḍu*. A *valanadu* (province) was subdivided into many *nadus* (districts). Inscriptions tell us that this place Elavanasur belonged to a district known as Bharanur nadu (or *kūṟṟam*).

Records call this place Iraiyanaraiyur or Irai-Vāsanallur (the good place for the Lord's habitation) and this term had been long corrupted in popular use as Elavanasur. The village is located on the road going from Tirukkovilur to Adanur. It has a Siva temple built in stone east facing, standing on a hillock. The temple tree here is the pipal (*arasu*) according to the legends. The name of Lord Siva enshrined here is Urbhāgam Koṇḍaruḷiya nāyanār and the name of Sakti is Periya Nāyaki. There are about eighty epigraphical records in the temple and on the rocks.[1] These give the following interesting details about many contemporary events. We shall here examine some of them and throw some light on the terms which have not been explained so far.

A record of Saka 1432 (A.D. 1510) states that one Puranam Tirumalai nayanar Chandrasekharar, a disciple of the Meykanda Santāna through Tiruvannamalai Satyajnāna Darsani, was given a gift of land, house site and well for writing the

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[1] The 80 inscriptions have been published in one handy volume by Pulavar S. Kuppuswami in July 1976 under the title 'Varalatru Vadivangal' with an elaborate introduction on the history of the place. The author's effort is to be highly commended.

Iraisaip-puranam; it mentions the name of Siva in the temple as Ur Bhāgam Kondarulina Tambiranar. (Iraisai is Iraiyanaraiyur, Elāvanasur.) There was a Purana Tirumalai natha who composed the *Chidambara purānam* in Saka 1430 (1508 A D.) and a prabandham *Chokkanathar ula* a little after Saka 1448 (1526 A.D.) Some minor *purānas* in the Sarasvati Mahal manuscripts library at Tanjavur mention his name as Purana Tirumalai nāyanar. It may thus be evident that this writer is also the author of the *purānam* on Iraivasanallur. Tirumalai nathar was a great poet of the early 16th century. His son Paranjoti was also an important literary figure: he had written the popular work on poetics, known as *Chidambarappāṭṭiyal.* They were all lay disciples of the pontiffs at the Kanchipuram Jnānaprakasar math. We learn from this inscription that Tirumalai natha was also called Chandrasekharar and was probably a disciple or student under the head of a Saiva math at Tiruvannamalai. Satya Jnanadarsini mentioned in the inscription simply means Meykandar and it signifies that the guru mentioned there came in the Saiva line of preceptors after Meykandar. No one had heard of this *puranam* mentioned in the inscription. But some time back I had occasion to examine a paper manuscript of it preserved in the Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar Library at Tiruvanmiyur. (A full account of it is given at pages 290-2 and 438-448 of my History of Tamil Literature 16th century, Volume I.) It is in 376 verses written in the author's characteristic good style in 8 chapters or *sargas*. The *purānam* is important in many ways. It says that the name of the author is Tirumalai *nayakar* (same as *nathar*). It also mentions that one *Arunagirip-purānam* was written by the author; this book is not available today. It mentions besides many legends such as that of Avvai who induced Deivigan to wed the daughters of Pari, Angavai and Sangavai.

The *purānam* is important for throwing light on some local allusions in the inscriptions which are obscure. One is the name of Siva enshrined in the temple. It is Ur-Bhāgam-Kondaruliya nāyanār. Not understanding the significance of this term, this has been literally Sanskritized as Grāma Ardhanāriśvara [2] But according to the Purāna, *bhāgam konda* is not Ardhanari but is something different.

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[2] Vide page 33 of the book Varalatru Vadivangal.

Deivigan the Malaiyaman chief slays the asura Karundan who was a brahmin in a previous birth. Because of this, the sin of *brahmahatti* attaches itself to him. As a measure of expiation he performs a sacrifice and colonises four neighbouring villages with 400 brahmins and takes 400 other brahmins to this place. However he finds that there are 400 more still left to be provided for. When he is unable to solve this problem of housing for the extra 400, the Lord of the temple appears before him as a brahmin and tells him : "Gift away this village now. Give one half to the brahmins and the other half to me alone; then they will be satisfied". The King does so. The brahmin disappears and reveals himself as the Lord Siva of the temple. From that incident he came to be known as *Ur Bhāgam Kondaruliya nāyanar*, the Lord who accepted one half of the village.

The *purānam* throws light on another term in the inscriptions. From the days of Kulottunga I we find the term *Nīrētrān* and *Nīretrāḷ* as the names of men and women in the place. This term is not ordinarily understandable. It has an allusion to the legend narrated above. When Deivigan went hunting in the forest with his army, they got thirsty and could find no water. Siva appeared before him as a hermit and caused water to gush forth from a rock by hitting it with his staff. The rock came since to be known as the *Nīrp-pāṟai* (the fountain rock). The king was standing on this rock when he gifted away half the village to the brahmin who appeared before him, with libation of water. So Siva the brahmin was known as *Niretrar* (the acceptor of the libation). Naturally in the later years people of the locality adopted the term as their own proper name since it was the name of Siva in the local temple.

There are some other interesting features in the inscriptions of the place. In the days of Vikrama Chola it came to be called Chola Kerala Chaturvadi mangalam. Sembiyan madevi is the name of a small hamlet nearby. *Tiruppalli elucchi* was sung in the temple at daybreak. From the days of Vikrama

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Chola, *Tirucchāḻal* from *Tiruvācakam* was being sung every Sunday. The Piḍārar (temple priests) sang these songs. Festivals were celebrated on the *Tiruvonam* day in Puraṭṭāsi and Mārgaḻi when the image of Siva was taken in procession along the streets. Manavil kūttan who had done many services to the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram had also made some gift of lands to this temple. The natal star of Vikrama Pandya is mentioned as *hastha*. A measure here was named *ūr bhāgam koṇḍāṉ marakkāl*. The temple is a *madak-koil*, probably one of the several built by Kocchengaṭ Chōḻa in the fifth century A.D.; the temple site is always referred to as *Tiru malai*.

Somapalle Temple

N. S. Ramaswami

The temple of Chennakesava in Somapalle, a village in Chittoor district, in Andhra Pradesh, is known chiefly for its remnants of Vijanayagar painting. While these are undoubtedly important, for they are probably the last manifestation of the Lepakshi genius that has survived in Andhra Pradesh, the temple itself repays study. Perhaps because it is located in a village not easy of access, its treasures have been little examined. Some forty years ago Dr. James Cousins, the well known art critic, drew attention to the paintings.

The Chennakesava temple contains no histrical inscription. But, according to "Inscriptions of Āndhradesa" (Vol II, Part I, page 108), the village has yielded an epigraph. Dated 1578, it records a grant of *sarvamanya* land at Sompalle by the order of the Vijayanagar king, Sadasiva, and "under the direction of Ramaraja". Most of the inscriptions recorded in Madanapalle taluk are of Vijayanagar times; a few are of the Vaidumbas.

There is little need of any epigraphical evidence for the origins of the Chennakesava temple. On the face of it it is a Vijayanagar temple. By the high Vijayanagar standards of Hampi, Lepakshi and Tadpatri, the sculptures in this temple are few and not elaborate. But it is indisputable that the temple was built in Vijayanagar times. It has been dated in the sixteenth-seventeenth century. A late date in this period will be consistent with its comparative simplicity, at a time when the baroque magnificence of Vijayanagar was wearing away, perhaps in the troubled times after Raksas Tangadi.

The temple faces east. This is a common enough orientation. But what is notable here is the fact that in a kind of semi-circle around the temple to tht east there is elevated ground.

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At a distance from the temple, where the depression in which it is located begins, there are small carved stone pillars on one side and on the other a dilapidated shrine, which may or may not be coeval with the main temple. To the east of these two structures there are remains of a small fort or at least a defensive position. To the right of the temple, in the fields, there are survivals of a few shrines. It is clear that the builders of the temple selected a site the natural impressiveness of which would add to the sanctity of the fane they were rearing.

Dr. Cousins' article suggests that some forty years ago the temple was in a dilapidated condition. Today the Archaeological Survey of India has restored it in immaculate fashion. The *gopura* has lost its inner side, and some of the sculptures are mutilated. But worship, though perhaps only of a sort, continues. There are few living habitations near the temple. In the ham'et of Somapalayam (which is its current name, another village nearby being called Somapalle nowadays), there is another temple of later construction.

On plan the Chennakesava temple has a fine clarity. The sanctum of the Lord is flanked, to its left, by a "kalyanamandapa". and, to its right, by the Thayar shrine. These three structures fill a rectangular *prākara* from north to south. It is on the ceiling of the *mukhamandapa* that the remnants of the celebrated "Ramayana" paintings are found. This structure leads to an *ardhamandapa*, which contains a few pillars, carved indeed, but with nothing like the characteristic Vijayanagar exuberance. There is an image of Lord Chennakesava in the sanctum.

To the left of this main structure. and not to its right as is customary in Vaishnava temples, there is the shrine of the Goddess. This is a plain square structure. The "ardhamandaps" too is devoid of ornamentation.

It is different with the *kalyānamandapa*, to the right of the main shrine. The Vijayanagar touch is the most obvious here. Though the pillars are by no means ornate. the central mandapa within this mandapa is authentic Vijayanagar. It is of black stone, and it contains some exquisite reliefs and a few sculptures in the round. To the back of this "kalyanamandapa" there are three shrines in a row.

The *prākara* wall immediately to the left of the entrance *gopura* consists of two shrines, both empty now. At the south-eastern corner, on the other side of the *gopura*, there is another shrine, bigger and more elaborate. It contains an image.

This is a Vijayanagar temple where architecture has not been drowned or swamped by sculpture. Nothing can be more admirable than the sense of architectonics displayed here. The many parts cohere into a harmonious whole. There are two *vimanas* over the main sanctum and the other over the *kalyanamandapa*. Both are *dvitala*. But while the former has a circular *sikhara*, the latter possesses a square one. Neither has a *stupi* today. Parts of the "prakara" walls carry "*hāras*". or "garlands", of miniature shrines. So do those of the temple in the hamlet.

An interesting structure at the eastern entrance to the 'mukhamandapa" of the main shrine is a miniature chariot of stone. Though it bears no comparison with the celebrated vehicles at Hampi and Tadpatri, it is nevertheless impressive. While the body is of brown stone the *vimana* has been set off by being constructed of polished black stone, of the same kind as the central part of the *kalyānamandapa*.

The temple complex must have extended a considerable distance to the east of the prākara walls. This area contains three interesting structures. The *dhvajastamba* is truly magnificent. Rising to a height of fiftytwo feet, it has a fine moulded *adisthāna*. The stone is whitish in colour. At the base of the shaft there are, on the four sides, reliefs of Garuda facing the temple, two dancers and a chauri bearer. From the top of these sculptures, as it were. ascends a convoluted creeper with a heavy centre. The ornamentation is restrained, on the whole. The same form of decoration is to be found on the smaller column, a little distance away.

Immediately to the left of the *gopura* there is an interesting *mandapa*. To judge from the fact that there are two rows of pillars in the open to the east adjoining it, this structure was in two parts. It is also conceivable that there was an independent *mandapa* here. The inner structure. as it may be called, repays study. It contains no less than five portrait sculptures. Each is obviously of a chieftain or magnate of the empire. It is reasonable to suppose that among them is to be found the builder of the temple. The anonymity is tantalising. There is an inner elevated *mandapa* in this structure, but it is a plain one.

To the south of this *mandapa* there is another, where the divine images must have been placed in a swing during festivals. It contains four very tall pillars, of plain design. At the centre of the high roof there are devices which held the swing.

The paintings are on the three bays in which the rectangular ceiling of the main *mukhamandapa* running north *to* south, has been divided. The survivals are the best in the south-eastern corner. There are only traces in the other parts, There are floral designs and dancing poses on the borders. A single label in Telugu has survived, *Raghupathi ara...*

The layer on which the paintings have been added is exceptionally thick in depth. Four coloures have survived, red, black, white and yellow. It is very likely that the original blue has turned black with time.

It is possible to make out only a few scenes. There is a long procession of chariots and men. In another place monkeys are holding up a kind of dais on which some people are seated. There are sages in the act of instruction. There are many architectural cameos, with houses, palaces and pavilions.

The art clearly derives from Lepakshi. The eyes of the human beings, seen in profile, are characteristic. The sages in particular are unmistakable. But there is a general sense as of the dilūtion of the Lepakshi manner. That classic tension of composition is missing. The individuals are more common in style and less divine than in Lepakshi. The art is clearly Lepakshis in idiom, but equally clearly late Lepakshi.

Irrigation in Ancient Coimbatore District-A Study

Vasanta Kalyani

The present Coimbatore district, which originally formed a part of the ancient Kongu country is made fertile by rivers, tanks and lakes. The most important river of this district is the river Cauvery which originates from Mysore state in Talai Cauvery, passes through Salem district at Oganekal and reaches Coimbatore via Mettur dam. It passes through Coimbatore district, for 150 miles before entering the Trichy district. The river Bhavani which originates in the western ghats joins the river Cauvery at Erode. Another river Noyyal begins at Valliyangiri mountain, and after irrigating Coimbatore, Palladam, Dharapuram taluks, joins the river Cauvery in Trichy District. The river Amaravathi, known in ancient times as Anporunai, originates at a place called Munnar in western ghats and passes through Udumalaipettai and Dharapuram taluks and joins river Cauvery in Trichy district.[1] Among these rivers, river Cauvery, Anporunai (Amaravathi) Bhavani and Noyyal are celebrated in the Sangam classics. Unlike other districts of Tamilnadu, Coimbatore district does not receive considerable amount of rainfall. Most of the areas constitute dry lands. So it was necessary for the ancient inhabitants to spend enough energy and labour in providing irrigation to make the lands fertile.

Coimbatore was under the control of the Pallavas and Gangas in the 8-9th Centuries A. D. before it passed on to the Imperial Cholas who ruled this area through their subordinates known as Kongu-Cholas. The inscriptions of the Kongu-Cholas found in Coimbatore district attest to the irrigation activities of the period.

An inscription from Pattāli village, dated in the 5 th regnal year of Vikramachola refers to the irrigation well sold to the local temple of Pallavaneesvaram in Arasanpālayam.[2] Another inscription dated in the reign of the same ruler coming from Paranchērpalli in Dharapuram taluk. mentions the digging of a tank on the hill.[3] In the reign of Rajadhiraja Vīra Chola (1117-1135) found in the Vishnu temple at Koduvai refers to a sacred well dug for the use of the temple. Another inscription dated in the 9th year of the same ruler from Parancherpalli records the gift of an irrigation tank (Kulam) in Uttamachola-chaturvedimangalam in the sub-division of Vīracholavala nadu.[4] An inscription dated in the 20th regnal year of certain Konerinmeikondan found in the Vishnu temple of Pazhankaruvalur village records the gift of Punchankulam, a Tank for various services in the temple. Obviously, the tank was dug as an irrigation tank and the lands cultivated with the help of the water from this tank were gifted for various offerings to the temple. The tank was also repaired.[5] Another inscription found in the Vidankeswara temple of Pāriyur of Gopichettipalayam, mentions the gift of Arayan kulam tank by the ruler as a *Dēvadāna* to the temple.[6]

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[1] Tamilnadu Mavatta Kurippugal. T. P. Perumal.

An interesting inscription dated in the 17th regnal year of *Konerinmaikonda Tribhuvana Chakravarti* orders the construction of a dam across the river at Devasirai, as requested by the village assembly of Perur village and Pukazhidamkonda chola chaturvedimangalam and it also records the permission accorded for using the water from the dam without causing any damage for irrigation in the village Cholanallur and also records the permission to set up a new village there.[7] Another but interesting inscription from Erode, dated in the reign of Chera ruler Ravikodai refers to the digging of a big lake named Thāḻhi Eri, by a certain Venthāḻi of Vanchi. He also had the title Thennavan Poraiyan. This Chieftain named the Ēri after his name as Thāḻi Ēri for which he deposited 50 *kazhanju* of gold to the assembly of Erode and stipulated that one Kalam of paddy should be levied as interest per annum which should be utilised for maintaining the tank.[8]

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[2] A. R. E. 258 of 1920.

[3] South Indian Temple inscription. Vol. I. No. 318.

[4] Ibid. No. 301.

[5] Ibid. No. 206.

[6] Ibid. No. 294.

[7] A. R. E. 1958-59.

In the 13th century, Pandyas have ruled over this region, after the fall of the Chola empire. Vīrapandya and Sundara Pandya who are said to have conquered Kongu country are represented by their inscriptions. An inscription dated in 1270 A. D. (5th regnal year of the ruler) records an order of the ruler addressed to the officers looking after the rivers at Vijayamangalam. The order specified that the Banakulam tank in the northern direction of Bagaiputtur was in disuse for a very long time and that the tank should be renovated and named Vīrapāndya Pērēri. The tank and the lands irrigated with its water were gifted as *dēvadāna* to the Nageswara temple and Kamakkottamudaiya Nachiyar temple of Vijayamangalam for offerings and other worships. The proceeds measured to the temple is called *Thonduvāram*. The king also ordered the tank should be maintained by the officers looking after the river, The inscription is dated in the reign of Vīrapāndya.[9] Nearly 18 years later the same ruler Vīrapandya issued an order to the village assembly of Thiru Perumpazhanam, also called Ottalur, to repair the tank which was in a bad state of preservation. As per the orders the embankments were raised and sluices were set up, the expenditure was met by many individuals. So the lands irrigated with its water of the tank were gifted to these individuals who were permitted to use the proceeds for the first four years and thereafter to measure one quarter of the proceeds to the village assembly for three years and later on to measure one half of the proceeds[10],

An inscription in the reign of Sundarapandya points to the great effort taken by the later Pandya rulers for improving irrigation facilities in the Kongu country. Under the orders of the ruler the village Sūralur was renamed as Sundarapandya Nallur in 1307. A big lake was filled with water through a big canal from a dam built in that village. The king also appointed

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8. Damilica Vol. I
9. South Indian Temple Inscriptions Vol. I. No. 267.
10. Ibid No.336.

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officer to look after the dam, the canal and the lake. The inscription also specifies the duties of the officers, whose name is given as Pillaian of Vellalūr. The village assembly and the temple authorities entered into an agreement with this Pillaian a Sembaḍavan. He was expected to look after the dam without allowing over flow of water and should carefully fill the lake and look after the canal. In return the village assembly and temple authorities granted him certain rights. The Sembaḍavan was also expected to inform the village assembly and the temple authorities if there was any danger to the dam or to the lake or the canal. The king also ordered that Pillaian could collect the taxes known as *Vāikkāl Pāttam* and *Pāsipāttam* from the villages of Suralur. The inscription is found in the Sugreevesvara temple at Sarkarpalayam.[11] This is a very interesting inscription showing that there were separate men appointed to look after the dam irrigation and lakes etc. and in return they were given certain rights and revenue.

From the Vijayanagara period we get a few references to irrigation facilities in the region in the reign of Achutharaya. The inscription is found in Avinashi and it records a tank was dug to the north of the village by Vālarāja Udaiyar, by spending his own money and named it Vālasamudram. The order permited a certain Lingana Udaiyār to dig another tank to the south east of the Valasamudram and name it as Lingasamudram. The king ordered that Lingana Udaiyar should spend his own money for digging this tank. Lands irrigated from the tank were paddy, cocoanut, betal leaves, plantain etc. Half the proceeds should be measured to the temple Pandara and the rest to be measured to the Treasury of Lingana Udaiyar.[12] It is interesting to note that the order of the king is mentioned as *tadāga Nirṇaya sāsana,* A certain Chikkabomma Nayak raised embankments to the river Kudaganādu for the benefit of the public and received the Pālayapattu rights.[13] Another inscription dated in the reign of Chikkadevaraya of Mysore orders the confirment to Pattiyappa, brother of Kondamanayaka, certain

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11. A. R. E. 304 of 1909.
12. South Indian Temple Inscriptions Vol. I. No 204.
13, Mackenzies Manuscript.

rights on the northern banks of the river Noyyal. The rights included tank and *Mutanmai Sutandra* over the stone dam and levy of certain taxes. Half of the proceeds was to be given to the temple of Alālasundara and the other half to Pattiyappa, by the village assembly.[14] The most celebrated irrigation work of the district undoubtedly was that of Kālingarāya, who built a dam across the river Bhavani near Erode. This is celebrated in a number of later Tamil works and Kālingarāya is identified with the Minister of Vierapāndya of 13th Century and he is said to have belonged to the Sāttantai family hailing from Vellodu (a seperete monograph on this chieftain is under preparation.) 18th Century a certain Nanjaraya, a Dalawai erected a dam at Koduveri. A certain Lingaiyyan is said to have erected a dam at Danayakankottai[15].

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[14] South Indian Temple Inscriptions.

[15] Kongu Nattu Varalaru. M. Ramachandran-Chettiar. pp. 408.

Manmangalam Terracottas

Abdul Majeed

Manmangalam is a small village, about eight k. m. from Karur to Pugalur (Tiruchi district) on the high road. There is a big mound, about five acres 45 cents, locally called *Kottai medu* (fort mound). A .thick cultural deposit, indicates the habitation of the site in the mediacval period. The deposit, consists of potsherds, granite pieces and the like. In the revenue records of the village (field measurement Book) of 1912, the mound is said to have been used as a cattle stand. Recently, a part of the mound was cut across to lower the high road that was originally running over it. During this operation, three terracotta figures and a few pots of small dimensions were unearthed. The three terracottas are now preserved in the taluk office in Karur. These are said to have been unearthed about one and a half meter below the surface of the mound.

The figures

All the three terracotta figures represent females seated on circular seats, two showing the female carrying a child on her hip and the third without one.

1. The first shows the female seated, with her hands placed on her knees. She is shown with a hair-do with finger nai ornamentation, prominent nose, impressive forehead, round eyes, and *Patrakundalas*. She presents an attractive face. The child shown seated on her hip clutches the breast of its mother. The female is shown with a lower garment extending upto the knee. The figure is 12 cm. in height.

The other figure, about 10 cm. in height and somewhat damaged, resembles almost the first figure in every respect, thought somewhat less refined than the first. That it too had a child is clearly visible, though the figure of the child is lost. The third figure also resembles the first two except that it carries no child. It is also 12 cm. in height.

Thirukkāmpuliyur

About 15 km. on the other side of Karur, in the same district, at Thirukkampuliyur was unearthed a similar terracotta figure, representing a seated female figure carrying a child on her hip. The child is shown clutching the breast of its mother. The female is shown feeding the child, by pressing her breast. The figure is covered with a slip, a feature also noticed in the Manmangalam figures.

Chāyāvanam

Another site, Chayavanam near the famous Kaveripumpattinam, in Tanjore district has yielded a similar terracotta figure during excavation. It also shows a female seated with a child and feeding it by clutching its breasts. The excavators have noted mediaeval pottery in contemporary layers.

Dating

The terracotta figure found at Thirukkampuliyur is assigned to the 10th-11th century A.D. by the excavators; so also the figure from Chayavanam. In the absence of any definite datable find, the dating of the Manmangalam finds should rest purely on a comparative study. The figures may be assigned to a period from the 11th to 13th Cent. A. D.

The use :

It would be interesting to ascertain the purpose to which these figures were put. People belonging to the *Karnika* sub-caste are living in Manmangalam village. They claim them to be the descendents of Chitragupta' the chief scribe of Yama. They live in various parts of Tamilnadu, in places like Madras, Kanchipuram, Erode, Kangayam and Coimbatore. They are found in large numbers in Koduntorai which is to the north of Musiri in Tiruchi district. It is found that the Karunikas of Koduntorai worship in their houses similar terracotta figures of

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1. Excavations in Lower Kaveri Valley (Tirukampuliyur and Alagarai) T. V. Mahalingam, 1970 Page 58 Pl. XVI. Fig. 3.
2. Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, A Review Page 27, Plate XLVI-B.

female deities carrying children. The people call this deity '*Koppātti Amman*', "*Pāppāra deivam* and *Brahmana deivam*," the last two words meaning 'Brahmin Goddess " Why they call it Brahmin Goddess it is difficult to say.

During the excavations at Kambatti, in the Toda country, J. W. Breeks noticed a lid of a pot carrying a similer figure of a female carrying a baby. This find in the barrow suggests that this is a megalithic cult, which is surviving to this day.[3]

The find adds considerably to our knowledge of the terracotta art to this day.

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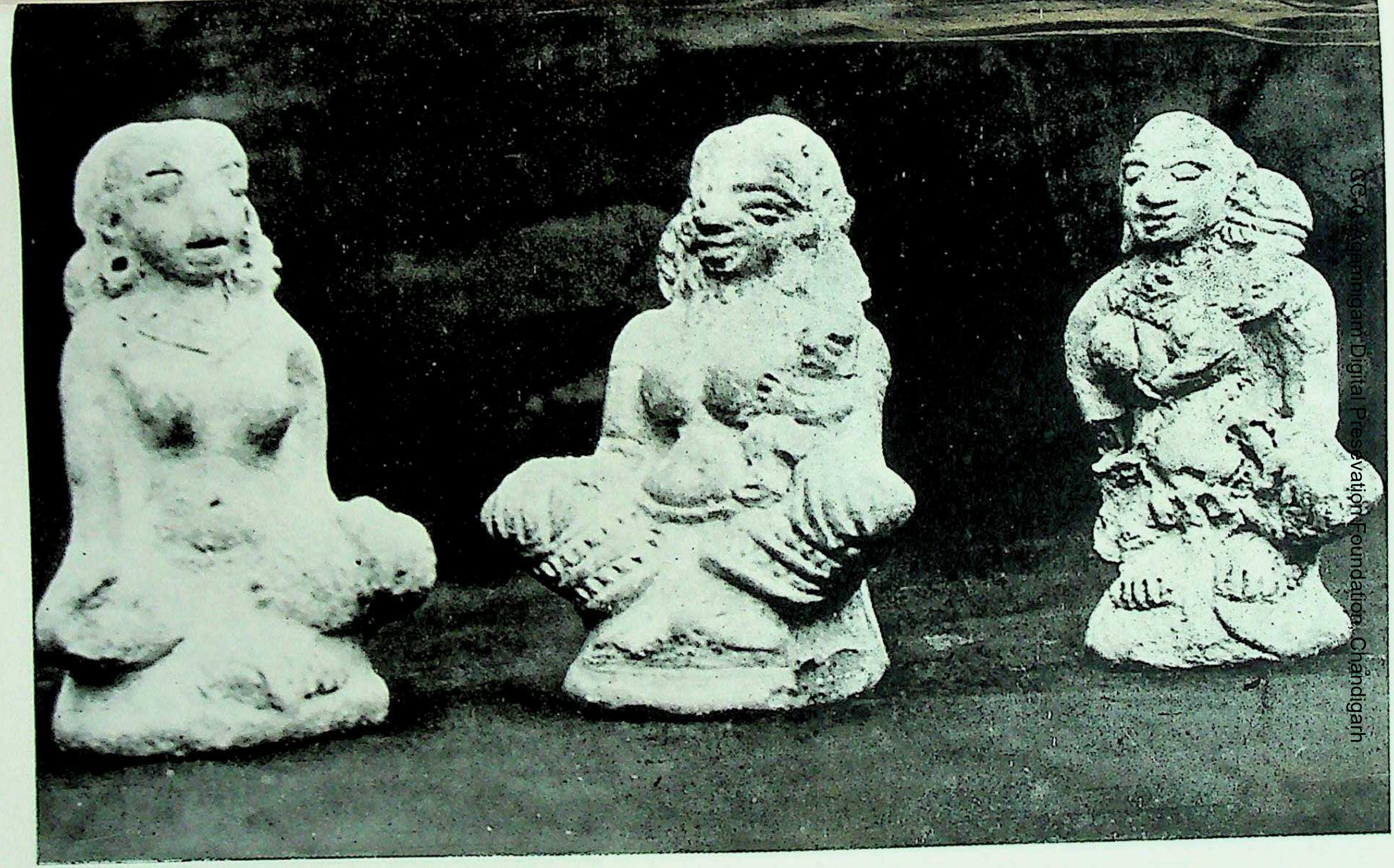
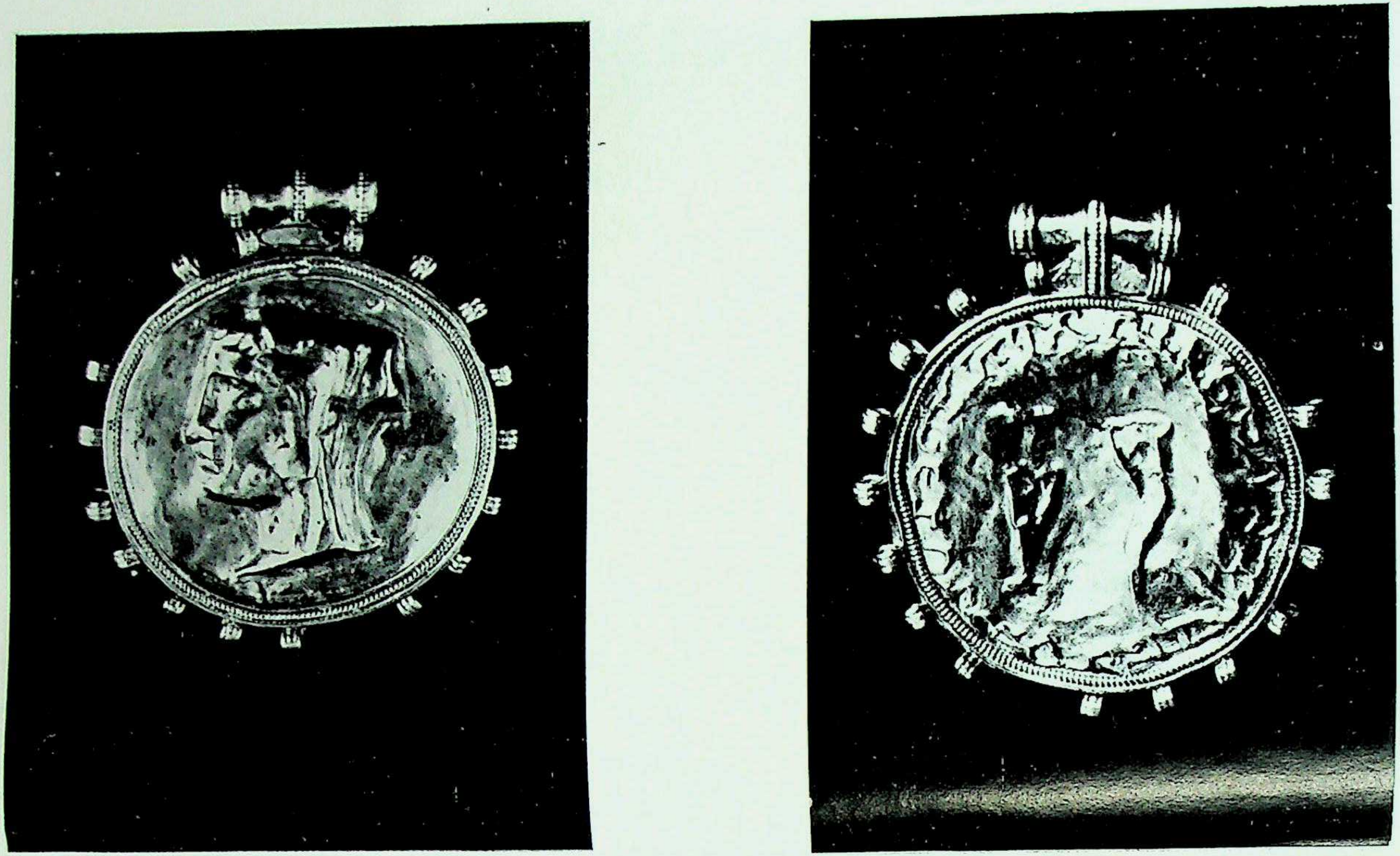
[3] J. W. Breeks. An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monument of the Nilagiris, 1873, pp 72.110, 'Çairns and Cromlechs.'



Terracotta figures from Manmangalam-Karur-Trichy District 11-13th Century A. D.



A Ptolemaic gold medallion from Karivalamvandanallur , Tirunelveli District-1st Century B.C

A Ptolemaic Gold Stater of Arsinoe II Philadelphos, from Tinneveli District

T. Balakrishna Nayar

[Late Prof. Balakrishna Nayar was engaged before his sudden demise in writing of a catalogue of Roman and Byzantine coins in the Government Museum, Madras and in the connection had occasion to study the contents of that treasure trove received at the Museum, in the year 1932, which included the medallion published here. He wrote to many scholars all over the world enquiring whether such finds were recorded in any museum or private collections. Prof. Nayar was inclined to identify the veiled head of the motronly lady on the obverse of that medalion, with Queen Zenobia of Palmyra, and the script of the legend on the reverse as cursive Palmyrene. Dr. Asko Parpola, the Finnish Scholar sent me a letter with the following note enclosing the photographs.

"I promised to Prof. T. Balakrishna Nayar to help him in getting definite identification of an interesting medallion found in south India. It has taken time to get the answer but when I mailed it the letter was returned with the sad news that he has deceased in the meanwhile. Could you see that the medallion is published with the information supplied under the name of Professor Balakrishna Nayar— Asko Parpola, Helsinki-May 22-1974. "The note prepared on the medallion by Late. Prof. Nayar and the note on the medallion supplied, A. D. H. Bever, London are published here on acceunt of their importance. —The Editor]

Mounted Medallion in the Collection of Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Govt. Museum-Madras A report By. T. B. Nayar

1. Material - Gold
   Diameter - 3.5 Cm.
   Weight - 18.901 gms.

The medallion is made of two circular pieces placed back to back and soldered together. It is part of a treasure-trove discovered in the year 1932 in village Karivalamvandanallur, District Tinnevelly, Madras State, India. Besides the medallion the treasure trove included the following :

1. Two gold rings
2. A gold chain
3. Four small gold beads
4, Six Roman coins, two of Nero (A. D. 54-58), one of Vespasian (A. D. 69-79) two of Domitian (A. D. 81-96) and one Hadrian (A. D. 117-138).

2. The designs of the medallion (obverse as well as revese) are in repousse. A tiny hole at edge admitted mastic into its body to prevent the designs from collapsing. Small rings (originally 20 numbers) soldered to the edge were probably meant for threading the gold beads of which only 4 survived, together with a three-ringed hoop at the head completed the picture of the jewel.

3. The reverse of the medallion has been subjected to considerable pressure with the result that the characters of the legend along its periphery and the outline of the designs have lost their original contours.

4. The design on the obverse stands out in high relief and represents the veiled head of a matronly lady.

5. In June 1960 the Government Museum, Madras, referred the medallion to the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London for possible identification. They said the veiled lady was interesting and wondered whether it could be derived from the veiled portrait-head of the Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt, though of course, she faces right and not left like the lady on our medallion. The objects on the reverse according to them could be an amphora and a cornucopia. They could not decipher the legend on the reverse though they were inclined to believe it represented an unusual southern or western variety of the Brahmi script and possibly made more

difficult by being more cursive or barbarous than the standard letter forms in Buhler.

6. Dr. D C. Sircar, the Government Epigraphist for India to whom a photograph of the jewel together with the photograph of the master-sketch of the legend made in 1936 was sent, said in his letter dated 20-6-1960 that 'he was thinking whether the writing was Indian at all.'

7. I have read the following Aramaic/Palmyrene letters in the legend, beth. zain, gimel, th, K, p, q, y and sh.

8. Can it be that the veiled lady of our medallion represents Zenobia as she appeared in Rome in the triumph of Valerian, a deposed Queen? We have numerous representations of veiled women from tombs at Palmyra. On a coin of Zenobia, however, with Greek legend (Wonders of the World by Hammerton Vol. I, VI, Palmyra - Queen city of the Desert) she turns right and has her hair combed down to the nape of the neck in elegant curls and wears a necklace.'

A. D. H. Bever, writes

"Whilst I am writing, may I take the opportunity to deal with another question. Many months ago you sent me the correspondence about the strange medallion which Professor Balakrishna Nayar was concerned with in Madras. I have consulted various expert opinions and find that our Professor J. B. Segal cannot explain it as Palmyrene, nor can he recognize in it the portrait of Zenobia. Eventually I consulted the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and found to my surprise that they had been consulted previously, and had already given their opinion. This is, that the medallion is a Ptolemy II of Egypt (284-247 B. C.) and various of his successors down to Ptolemy X (117-81 B. C.) The head has been reversed by the maker of the amulet. and the two *cornucopias* of the reverse have been misconstrued by him as an amphora and a cornucopia. See R. Stuart Poole, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, VII, Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt, pp. 42-5 and Pl. VIII. The inscription is presumably a blundered substitute for the Greek legend of the original. This explanation derives from Mr. G. K. Jenkins, Keeper of the Department, and was transmitted

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to me by the Assistant Keeper, Mr. Nicholas Lowick. After consideration, I am persuaded that it must be correct, though it is perhaps unnecessary to transmit it again to Professor Balakrishnan, since presumably it has already been passed to him. There are, of course, many medallions and bracteates in South India which are copied from ancient coins, and it is to be hoped that the the Professor will publish the whole material in due course. I am returning the photographs and correspondence to you herewith, in case you have further need for it."

History, Technique and A Notation for Adavu System in Dance

Padma Subrahmanyam

The unit of the contemporary Bharatanatyam has the term "Aḍavu". This term is common to the classical dances of Tamilnadu, Andhra and Karnataka. The various individual exercises of the Kalaripait of Kerala, which is a martial art, are also called Aḍavu. This word seems to have its root in the Tamil word 'Āḍal', meaning dancing and the Telugu 'Aḍu' meaning a step or stamping with the foot. 'Aḍavu' is a combination of three elements, namely a posture for the body, a movement for the legs and gestures for the hands. In other words, it can be taken as the southern terminology of the ancient Sanskrit term 'Karaṇa', According to Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra, a Karaṇa is a unit of dance with the three above mentioned elements being combined. These same elements are called Sthāna, Cāri and Nrttahasta respectively in Sanskrit. 108 such combinations are described in the 4th chapter of the Nāṭya-Śāstra under the names of Karanas. These Karaṇas formed the basic foundation for our ancient dances. These 108 movements of Bharata's period gave way to new movements in the later centuries. These new movements were also recorded by later authorities under the name of Dēśi Karanas. At this period of history, the older 108 Karaṇas were meticulously recorded and preserved in the form of sculptures. These sculptures have been serving as visual libraries for the dance historians. They stand testimony for not only the architectural and sculptural achievement, but also the meticulous sense of our ancients for the technical accuracy in portraying this performing art. The five important temples which have the stone codification of the Karaṇas of Nāṭyaśāstra are the Brhadiswarā temple at Tanjore, Sārangapāṇiswāmy temple at Kumbakōṇam, Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram, Aruṇāchalēśwara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Vrddhagirīśwara temple at Vriddhācalam. These sculptures represent frozen moments of movements like the still photographs of a moving dancer. But they are often misunderstood as static postures. The Karaṇa sculptures have been of great help in reconstructing the units or Aḍavus of the dim forgotten past. The Karaṇas gradually gave way to the adavus. The existing adavus must have got evolved from the Karaṇas.

The correct produnciation of the term 'Adavu' is sometimes claimed to be "Aḍaivu". If this is true, the term 'Aḍaivu' would mean a combination. It is highly probable that they were two different terms, because we are able to come across both the terms in some of the later works. But their definitions are not met with. The earliest reference to the term 'Aḍaivu' seems to be a Cola inscription belonging to Parakesari Kulottunga III (1178-1223 A D.) in a ruined temple of Siva at Kulattur in the south prakara wall.* The king referred to as Tribhuvana Vīra Devar is said to have had the annointment of Vīrābhishēkam on his victory over Madhurai, Ilam and Karuvūr and made the allotment of the turas for *Tiruppāṭṭaḍaivu, Meikāṭṭaḍaivu, Tiruvālatti* and *Tiruccūlam* for the Dēvaraḍiyar in the temple of Sundara Coliswaram for the Lord of Kūlaikulattur. The mention of these dances are highly significant. Two of these have the term 'Aḍaivu' suffixed.

Tiruppāṭṭaḍaivu can be split as Tiru+Pāṭṭu+Aḍaivu. Pāṭṭu means song. The art of expression is twofold. One is the style of bringing out the word to word meaning while the other is the art of communicating the idea of a whole sentence. These are called *Padārtha abhinaya* and *Vākyārtha abhinaya* respectively. While the former is still in vogue, the latter has become out of vogue in most of the Indian dances. *Pāṭṭaḍaivu* must have been the song for which aḍaivus of rapresentational nature must have been performed. The Karaṇas of ancient India were used for *Vākyārtha abhinaya.* Hence Pāṭṭaḍaivu can be taken to mean the physical movements performed to bring out the general idea of a song. The prefix 'Tiru' is generally used to denote divinity or even Royalty. This suggests that Tiruppāṭṭḍaivu must have been the dance performed to the song in praise of the deity of the temple. It is probable that Pāṭṭaḍaivus of some kind existed atleast till there was dance in the temples.

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* K. R. Srinivasan, Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State translated in to English–Part II Pudukkottai Darbar. Inscription No. 162 Page 135.

Meikāṭṭaḍaivu seems to suggest the concept of *Nrtta Karaṇa* i.e. Karaṇa or Aḍavu for pure dance. These were meant only for bringing out the aesthetic beauty of the body (Mei) lines in various complicated rhythmic structures. 'Mei' means body and 'Kāṭṭu' denotes showing. It is a display of the technical brilliance with a skilful use of all the *angas* (limbs) of the body. All the contemporary Aḍavus belong to this category. They are used only in Nrtta (pure dance) and not for representing any particular idea.

Tiruvālatti must have been the dance of ritualistic nature connected with the 'Kuḍamurai' tradition of the Dēvadāsi system. The Dēvadāsi was expected to wave the lighted pot, (Kumba hārati) and the fly whisk (Cāmara) and dance during the daily ritual. *Ālathi* is the Tamil equivalent of *Hārati*. The Tiruccūlam was probably the *prēnkhaṇi* dances of medieaval Saivism as evidenced even in some of the sculptures at the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram.

From the terms Tiruppāṭṭaḍaivu and Meikāṭṭaḍaivu, we are able to surmise that the word 'Aḍaivu' was used in both the sense of *Nrtta* and *Nrtya*. But, both involved the physical movements of the Karaṇas or Aḍavus. Both the terms 'Aḍaivu and 'Aḍavu' are met with in some later works like Kūttanūl, Mahābharatacūḍāmaṇi, Bharatasangraham and Sangītasārāmrta. From a careful study of these it is possible to conclude, that the term 'Aḍavu' is a unit of dance like the Karaṇa while 'Aḍaivu' is a combination of these 'Aḍavus'. Aḍaivu may be compared to the combinations of Karaṇas such as the *angaharas*, mentioned in the Nātya Sastra.

The present technique of the dance style popularly known as Bharatanātyam, is based mainly on the Aḍavus described in a

Sanskrit work called the Sangīta Sārāmrta written by Thulaja of the Maratha dynasty of Tanjavur. He has given the names in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu and described the Adavus with a fair amount of details. About 25 of the adavus mentioned in this text are already obselete. It is also necessary to mention that some of the Aḍavus we have in contemporary practice do not find a place in this text. This clearly exhibits that the performing arts keep on changing with the march of time evolving new shapes and forms. The innate individuality in the interpretation and practice of the Aḍavus have given rise to a handful number of *Vaḻis* (ways) or *Paddhatis* (Traditions). These are marked by the names of the villages or towns in which they were practiced. Some of the more prominently known, styles are those of Tanjāvūr, Pandaṇainallūr, Vazhuvūr and Kāncīpuram. This is more because of the fact that the great masters who were responsible for popularising their Sadir dances in the name of Bharatanatyam, hailed from these places during the post thirties and forties of this century. This does not mean that there were no dances or teachers in other unpublicised towns. In fact two important books on dance, namely, 'Natanadivādhyaranjanam' and 'Sabhāranjita Cintāmaṇi' were written by Gagaimuttu Nattuvanār of Madurai under the supervision of Kaviraja Nellaiyappa Pillai of Tirunelveli during the first decade of this century. The way of teaching, classifying and performing the aḍavus vary from teacher to teacher, Each master has his own strong point. The style also depends on the aspect of specialisation aimed at by various mentors. While one concentrates on the graceful flow of the movements another lays stress on their precision. While one devotes more attention to the art of expression another has his focus on the Adavus with jaw breaking complications. With such differences in the emphasis, the aḍavus have got scattered, changed or even lost within a short span of 150 years. The most amusing aspect in this set up is that very often there is a fight in relation to claims on authenticity and antiquity of each of these *valis* (sub-styles). In the present context, an authentic record of all the available aḍavus is highly warranted.

Generations of dancers have generated innumerable dance movements and dance forms. But most of them have disappeared mainly because of a lack of proper record. Irrespective of the changes which are bound to take place, the contemporaneous practices ought to be recorded for the purpose of history. Here, by history, it is the history of the dance technique that is meant, and not merely the social or political reactions to the art and artists. Even letting aside the historic value, a record of dance, in writing, is most useful for contemporary practice. It is an aid to memory for students, teachers and choreographers.

India has not had any script for dance. Like the Vedās which were śrutis to be learnt by hearing. the art of Naṭana was learnt and practiced under the visual guidance of the teacher. It was always a practical transformation with memory as the only repository. Texts like the Nāṭyaśāstra contain descriptions of movements and gestures. But, they do not reveal the exact manner in which they were alligned as concert numbers. We have not had a meticulous record of choreographic patterns. In other words, we have no notation for dance. Only names of dances such as Pushpānjali, Mukhacāli, Prēnkhaṇi. Alliam, Koḍukoṭṭi and such others are met with in the relevant literature. None of them are notated to reveal the exact manner in which time and space were utilised.

Notating dance is by no means a simple task. To make a proper graph of the leg, ankle and foot in action in proper tempo and sequence and with precise transference of weight is certainly next to impossibility. If such a system is evolved, that would be a high water mark in the history of choreography. It is a pity that the creations of choreographers are seldom preserved. The choreographer's role is as important as that of the composer. But, in India, the difference between the choreographer and the teacher has not been often understood. While there can be more teachers, it is the prerogative of only a chosen few to be choreographers because of their sense for conception and construction. In India, and particularly in the Sadir style of Bharatanatyam, many popular numbers have retained their shapes for over a century because they were learnt by rote. Even teachers have been depending on their computer-like memory and not on notation. But, with the march of time, many new forms and movements are bound to spring as is already evidenced at various levels. In this process of evolution it is necessary to keep a record of atleast all that we are familiar with. The system of Aḍavu, which we are now handling seems to lend itself to be notated for the sake of posterity. In spite of being totally aware of the fact that learning dance by notation or even recording the movements with complete precision is beyond our means, here is a humble attempt to reduce the adavus to notation. It is hoped that it would atleast aid memory. This notation was evolved by me mainly to help the students who are not able to spend enough years with us in our school. As a student of Western Music, I was inspired by its Staff Notation. I have adopted some of its symbols and made bold to evolve this Notation system out of shere necessity. I hope, that this system may be of some use to dance students, inspite of any of its short comings. Presently this system is capable of recording the movements of the feet, arms, hands, space, direction, time measure and the sollukkattu. Before going into the principles of this Notation, a general idea of the basic technique of the Aḍavu system needs an introduction.

The major factors in the Aḍavus are the type of Pāda bēdha (feet variation), Sthāna (posture of the body) and hasta (hand gesture). The most important of these are described below :

Feet Positions :

1. Sama	— The feet are in the natural position with the nails facing the front.
2. Pārśwa	— The feet are turned on their sides forming a horizontal line.
3. Tryaśra	— The feet are turned towards the corners.
4. Swastika	The feet are crossed.

Movements of the Feet :

1. Taṭṭu (Sanskrit-Kuṭṭanam)	— Stamping the ground with the sole.

2. Nāṭṭu (Sanskrit-Ancitam) — The heel strikes the ground with the toes held up.

3. Kuttu (Sanskrit-Agratala sancāram) — The toes strike the ground with the heel lifted up.

4. Meṭṭu (Sanskrit - Udghaṭṭitam) — The heel strikes the ground while the toes are already in contact with the ground.

5. Tāḍitam (Sanskrit) — The toes strike the ground while the heel is already in contact with the ground.

6. Mārḍitam (Sanskrit) — The sole rubs or brushes the ground.

7. Sarikai (Sanskrit-Sarika) — The feet move without being lifted.

8. Sarukkal (Sanskrit-Skhalita) — The feet are made to slip.

9. Veesukkāl (Sanskrit-Kshepam) — This is to throw the leg.

Positions of the Body :

1. Sama — With the feet as Sama the knees are also to be erect.

2. Araimandi (Sanskrit-Mandala) — With the feet as Pārśwa with a maximum of one span between them, the knees are also bent on the sides. with the thighs at a distance of about three spans from the ground when they are motionless. (The span measurement is based on the performer's hand).

3. Ālīḍha and

4. Pratyālīḍha — When the right leg is placed at a distance of about five spans at an angle behind the left, it is Ālīdha. The reverse of this is Pratyālīḍha

5. Ēkapāda — When one foot is in sama posture, the other is lifted with its shank placed accross the knee of the former.
6. Muzhumaṇḍi — The back rests on the heels while the toes are in contact with the ground with the knees spread on the sides.
7. Mōṭitam — In Muzhumandi posture one knee is made to rest on the ground.

(Any more number of the other postures which are not in popular use to day, can also be added to the list according to the requirement.)

Classification of Adavus :

The Aḍavus which are now in use can be grouped under thirteen headings. Each of these groups consist of a handful number of variations. On the whole, there are hundred and twenty adavus in practise. But not all of them are taught by any single master. This number is only the result of weaving the scattered material. The following classification is based on the traditional method of grouping them. But, in the case of aḍavus which are only referred to by the rythmic syllables used for them, I have supplied the technical terms drawn from sanskrit texts. The following are the 13 groups of aḍavus:-

1. Taṭṭaḍavu — These give prominence for the whole sole.
2. Nāṭṭaḍavu — These Aḍavus give importance for striking with the heel (Nāṭṭudal or Ancitam)
3. Taṭṭimeṭṭaḍavu — In this group the aḍavus involve both the feet variations of Taṭṭudal and Meṭṭudal.
4. Mārḍita Aḍavu — This group involves the Mārḍita feet variation.

5. Sarika — These Adavus have movements of the feet without lifting them.

6. Kudiccumeṭṭu Aḍavu --- These movements involve a light jump through the toes of both the feet simultaneously followed by Mettudal by both the feet at a time.

7. Kuttaḍavu — This gives prominence to the toes either through Kuttal or Kudittal.

8. Sarukkal Aḍavu — Such Aḍavus always make the foot or feet slip.

9. Maṇḍi Aḍavu --- These Aḍavus are marked by the Muzhumaṇḍi posture.

10. Pāical Aḍavu — These Aḍavus involve jumps and leaps.

11. Suṛṛaḍavu — These are all whirling movements of various kinds.

12. Kōrvai Aḍavu — In these Aḍavus, differen variations are woven together.

13. Makuṭa Aḍavu — These Aḍavus are usually used only for the finale of any Jathi or any groups of movements in the concert numbers. Various parts of an item are crowned with these Makuta Adavus.

Notation :

The following are the principles on which the present Notation system is based.

1. Horizontal lines denote the kind of feet variation (Pāda bēdha) like Taṭṭu stamping with sole, Kuṭṭu stamping with

toes, Nāṭṭu - stamping with heel and Meṭṭu - stamping with the heel while the toes are on the ground etc.

2. The names of the Pāda Bēdhas must be written on the left side, each time the line is drawn. It is better to indicate the Sthāna (posture of the body) also along with this.
3. The number of lines depend on the number of feet variations which occur in the Aḍavu to be notated.
4. The names and number of lines obviously change according to the needs of the Aḍavu.
5. The right and left foot are denoted by the specific symbols. Each symbol denotes the speed in which the step occurs. The names of the symbols denoting the six speeds (Kāla) are, Minim, Crotchet, Quaver, Semi Quaver, Demi Semi Quaver and Hemi Demi Semi Quaver respectively. (Illustration 1) When both the feet are to stamp at a time, both the symbols are written one above the other. (Illustration 2). Thus, the kind of feet variation is denoted by the lines on which the symbols occur. The symbols specify which foot is to perform and in what speed.
6. When there are more than one quavers, they can be tied (Illustration 3). When the steps occur in varying speeds without uniformity, the different kinds of quavers can also be tied (Illustration 4).
7. The Aksharas of the Tāla are bifurcated through the vertical lines called the bars. A double line or a double bar means the completion of one whole Āvarta. For example, the Āditāla has eight bars with a double bar at the end. If the tāla is reckoned in four Kalai tempo the eight bars consists of a minimum for each Akshara. This time measure must be written as 8/2. Adi tāla in two Kalai tempo is to be written as 8/4, i.e each Akshara is made up of a chrotchet. Ādi tāla in single kalai tempo is to be written as 8/8 i.e. each Akshara is made up of a quaver. (Illustration 5a, 5b and 5c) The bars may also be used as in Karnatic music, in which case each Anga of the Tāla may also be marked by a bar, with a double bar at the end of the Āvartha. (Illustration 6)

8. Half the time value of a minim is a Crotchet; half of a crotchet is a quaver; half a quaver is a semi quaver. There are two Demi semi quavers in a semi quaver and two Hemi demi semi quavers in a demi semi quaver. For example, Illustration 7 is a notation of the Taṭṭaḍavu performed in three speeds within one Āvarta of the Ādi tāla in two Kalai.

   While the number eight denotes the Aksharas of Ādi Tala the number below denotes the Kalai. In case of other Tālas, the number above depends on the number of Aksharas in the specific Tāla. The Chāpu Tāla will have the numbers on the top according to their Jathis. For example it will be 5/4 for Khaṇḍa chāpu and 7/4 for Miśra and 9/4 for Sankīrṇa Chāpus.

9. The time measure of the Kārvais (pause) are to be denoted with the specific symbols for Minim, Crotchet, Quaver, Semi Quaver, Demi Semi Quaver and Hemi Demi Semi Quaver (Illustration 8). A dot next to any symbol would mean half the time measure of the symbol that precedes the dot. For example, the value of the symbol of crotchet suffixed with a dot will mean a beat of the foot to the value of crotchet followed by a rest (Kārvai) to the value of a quaver.

10. The śollukkaṭṭu rhythmic Syllables, Swara or the words of the song that corresponds the movement will have to be written below the beats. (Illustration 9).

11. Hand gestures are denoted through numerals written below the relevent symbol of the feet variation. Two numbers are written one above the other. The number on the top denotes the right hand, while the one below, the gesture of the left hand. If, only one number is given, it is common for both the hands. The numbers are based on the serial order of the Hastās as given in Nandikēśwara's Abhinaya-darpaṇam. The single hand gestures are denoted through their numbers while the combined hand gestures are numbered with a mark "X" following the number. Some examples are given in the illustrations 10a, 10b and 10c.

12. The movements of the arms are denoted in two ways. viz, those lines without an encircling circle and those lines within a circle. The former denotes vertical movements and the latter indicates horizontal ones. (Illustrations 11a and 11b) Two dots like...means that both the hands are to be at the level of the chest in front of it with the elbows at the shoulder level (Illustration 12a). Simultaneous movements of horizontal and vertical kinds for the two hands is written as in the second beat in the Illustration 12b.

13. With regard to space, at least the direction in which the dancer is to move can be indicated through arrows. If the stage is imagined to be a rectangle or square, the following are the simplest of classifications, viz., centre, right and left halves anterior and posterior regions (marked as back and front) and the anterior and posterior corners. (Illustration 13). Whirling movements can be denoted as spirals and rounds. (Illustrations 14a and 14b).

14. The direction which the torso has to face is to be indicated through an additional arrow on the arrow mark which indicates the direction in which the foot is to move. The following are some of the possibilities.

    Move on right with torso on that side (Illustration 15a)
    Move on right with torso left side (Illustration 15b)

    Move on right with torso facing front (Illustration 15c)

    Right side movement with the torso facing backwards (Illustration 15d)

    Right side movement with the torso diagonally on the left in front (Illustration 15e)

    Right side movement with the torso diagonally on right in front (Illustration 15f)

    Right side movement with the torso diagonally on left backwards (Illustration 15g)

    Right side movement with the torso diagonally on the right backwards (Illustration 15h)

    (All see illustration 16)

Conclusion :

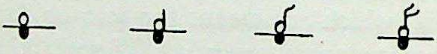
The above points cover the aspects of feet variations, Hastas, arm movements, direction in space, facing direction time measure and also the relevant words, notes or rhythmic syllables. These are the major aspects of choreography. This system does not include subtler aspects of ornamental nature like the movements of the neck, eyes and waist. These finer aspects have to be only learnt and remembered. Like the Gamakās of Karnatic music, these cannot be notated. Even the wavy movements of the torso which also give rise to the Bhangis are to be only mentioned in writing or in lines sepcrately, and cannot be incorporated because it would become more complicated. This system, like any other system of notation for any performing art, is only an aid to memory. Moreover, it is construed mainly to notate the Sadir and other dances of India, which are meant for solo or dancing in unison. The group choreography needs a different kind of notation, particularly for a-symmetrical patterns. It is hoped that the present system will be useful for students who are unable to spend more number of years with the teacher.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1

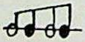
NAMES OF THE SYMBOLS	SPEED	RIGHT FOOT	LEFT FOOT
MINIM	I KĀLA		
CROTCHET	II KĀLA		
QUAVER	III KĀLA		
SEMI QUAVER	IV KĀLA		
DEMI SEMI QUAVER	V KĀLA		
HEMI DEMI SEMI QUAVER	VI KĀLA		

2

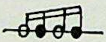


3

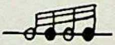
QUAVERS



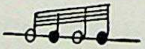
SEMIQUAVERS



DEMI SEMI QUAVERS



HEMI DEMI SEMI QUAVERS



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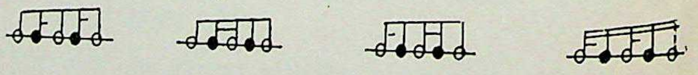
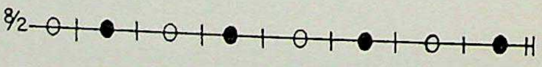
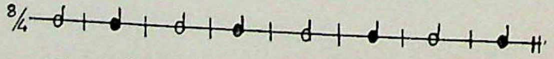


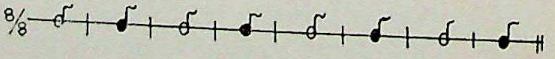
5a



5b



5c



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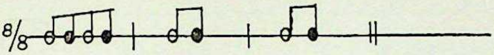
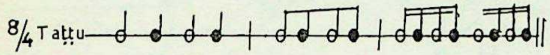


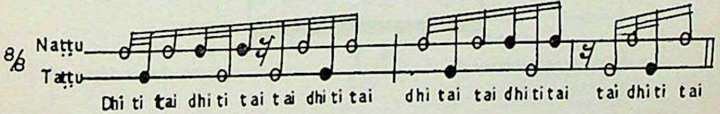
7



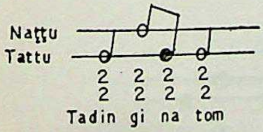
8

NAMES OF THE SYMBOLS	SYMBOLS OF REST (KĀRVAI)
MINIM	
CROTCHET	
QUAVER	
SEMI QUAVER	
DEMI SEMI QUAVER	
HEMI DEMI SEMI QUAVER	

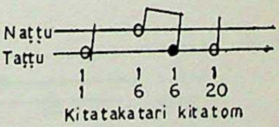
9


8/8
Naṭṭu
Taṭṭu
Dhi ti tai dhi ti tai tai dhi ti tai
dhi tai tai dhi ti ti tai
tai dhi ti tai

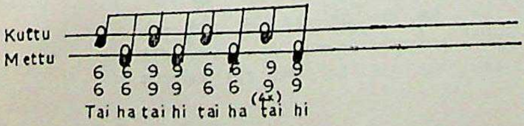
10a


Naṭṭu
Tattu
2 2 2 2
2 2 2 2
Tadin gi na tom

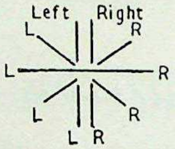
10b


Naṭṭu
Taṭṭu
1 1 1 1
1 6 6 20
Kitatakatari kitatom

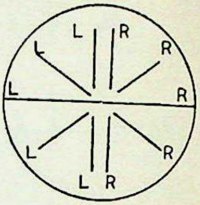
10c


Kuttu
Mettu
6 6 9 9 6 6 9 9
6 6 9 9 6 6 9 9
(4x)
Tai ha tai hi tai ha tai hi

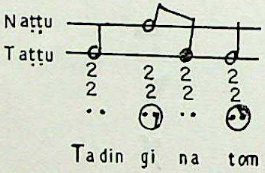
11a


Left
Right
L
R
L
R
L
R
L R

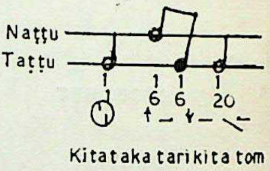
11b


L
R
L
R
L
R
L
R
L R

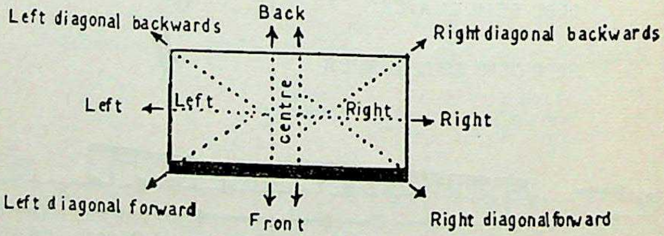
12a


Naṭṭu
Taṭṭu
2 2
2 2
2 2
2 2
Tadin gi na tom

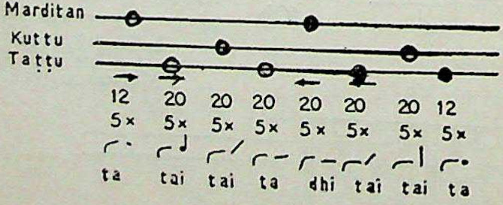
12b


Naṭṭu
Taṭṭu
1 1
1 6
1 6
1 20
Kitataka tarikita tom

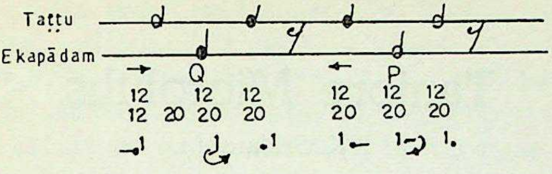
13


Left diagonal backwards
Back
Right diagonal backwards
Left
Left
centre
Right
Right
Left diagonal forward
Front
Right diagonal forward

14 a


Marditan
Kuttu
Taṭṭu
12 5×
20 5×
20 5×
20 5×
20 5×
20 5×
20 5×
12 5×
ta tai tai ta dhi tai tai ta

14 b


Taṭṭu
Ekapādam
Q
P
12 12 12 12 12 12
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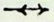
15a

15b 

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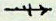
15f 

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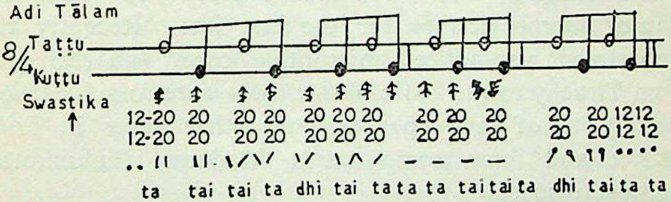
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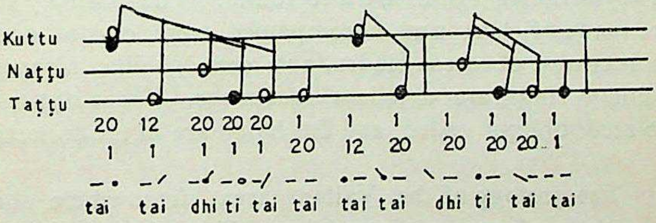
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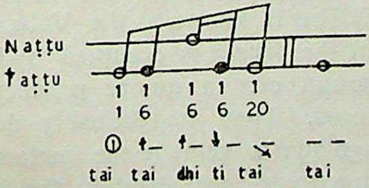
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Tanjore Microliths

K. Sridaran

The discovery of microlithic tools, in Tanjore district, by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, widens our knowledge about the microlithic industry in Tamilnadu. The findings are reported from the banks of the Anandakaveri river in Budalur and Vallam, thus placing the district on the map of microlithic sites, for the first time. Recently the State Department also noticed microlithic cores (quartz) and tools from Tiruchy town. Microlithic tools were found earlier at the the teri sites of Sawyerpuram, and other places in Trinnelveli district and from some sites in Madurai, Pudukkottai and Ramnad districts.

The Budalur tools are made of black basalt. A few made of crystals and agate are also found. The Tiruchy specimens are made of chert and accompanied were crystal cores. The tools consist of cores, blades, and crescent like scrapers. The Budalur finds are excellent specimens. Three types of cores, pointed, oblique ended, and flat based are in the collection.

The geology of the Vallam area, from where some flakes have been found is interesting. This area rises above the surrounding level and forms a small plateau broken by ridges of grits and sandstones. This is known as the Vallam table land. The upland portion of the district is occupied by laterite rocks. Near Vallam are found certain quartz products which are known as Vallam stones. They are probably derived in the first[1] place from large quartz veins in the metamorphic rock. The important varieties are the rock crystal, the dark brown or smoky quartz, the yellow and the amethyst. This region thus could provide raw materials for making the microlithic tools. These tools compare will with other known tools of the south.

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1. Tanjore Gazetteers Volume I, F. R. Hemingway (1906) Page 6, 7

In this period also the people lived by hunting animals. At the same time they might have known the art of harvesting grain through weapons made of collections of microlithic tools. So we may conclude that man had developed from the hunting stage to the food producing stage. For hunting animals he used these tools at the tip of the arrow. He came to the coastal areas from the hilly regions for fishing.

The tools of Sawyerpuram are heavily stained with red hydrated ferric oxide, which implies that they come from within the weathered sand of the original soil-seclious[2]. They are therefore likely to be older than the teri accumulation, though perhaps not much so, and certainly older than the red weathering. The Tanjore microliths are made of black basalt stone and are smaller in sizes.

But we have not got tools associated with pottery etc. to fix its period conveniently. The excavation at Attirampakkam (Chingleput district) yielded microliths at the top surface[3]. The stratigraphy at Gudiyam cave excavation revealed a post-Acheulian industry imperceptibly developing into a microlithic one without any hiatus[4]. Thus we may fix tentatively the period of the tools to 4000 B. C. Further study of the above tools and sites may reveal the pre-historic antiquity of western Tanjore region.

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[2] Ancient India No. 12-Microlithic sites of Tirunelveli District – F.E. Zeuner and B. Allechin.

[3] Indian Archaeology 1964-65 A Review Page 20.

[4] Indian Archaeology 1962-63 A Review Page 12.

Amankudi, the Native village of Rajaraja's Commander

A. Padmavathy

One of the greatest temples to be built in India is the Rājārajēsvara temple at Tanjore by Rāja Rāja Chola, While the main shrine was built under orders of Rājarāja, the great enclosure was built under his orders by his Commander-in-Chief, Sri Krishṇan Rāman, or Mummuḍi Chola Brahmamārāyan. This commander hailed from Amaṇkudi, also called Keralānta kachaturvedimangalam in Venadu, in the sub-division of Uyyakkondar Valanadu. Krishnan Rāman appears as *Olaināvaka* in the Larger Leyden grant and as a senapati in a Tanjore inscription. Obviously he enjoyed the respect and confidence of the emperor.

The village Amankudi has now been identified by the Tamilnadu State Archaeological Department. It is an extremely beautiful but small village, in Nannilam taluk, Tanjore district. The name, Amangudi, seems to suggest that it was originally a Jain settlement. It was established as a a Brahmin colony in the reign of Rājarāja and received the name Keralāntakachaturvedimangalam. "Keralāntaka" was a title assumed by Rājarāja to mark his conquest of Kerala.

A Siva temple in the village bears inscriptions throwing light on the history of the village. The temple is called the Rājarājesvaram in an epigraph. Krishnan Rāman, erected a temple in his native village urder the name of Rājarāja. It is interesting to note that this temple was built when the great temple was coming up. That great temple of Tanjore was also called the Rājarājesvaram. A fragmentary inscription in the temple refers to Senapathi Mummudi Chola Brhamāmārayan, evidently the same commander who served under Rāājarja.

The original temple of Rājarājesvara at Amangudi seem to have undergone renovation. The *garbhagrha* and *antarāla* show early architectural motifs. In the *devakoshtas* Brahma, Vishnu and Durga are noticed. An image of Ganesa is found in a small shrine. A nandi, assignable to the 11th century, and a Sivalinga are in the *prākāra*. No early bronze is noticed in the temple.

The temple bears inscriptions of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I, most of them mutilated. The village had an assembly called Mahāsabhā in an inscription. It was in the sub-division of Vennādu and there seems to have been a territorial assembly of Brahmins, called *"Brahma deyattu yālunganattār."* In the reign of Rājarāja I, thirty kasus were deposited for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. Another inscription refers to a *sabhāvyavastha*. A certain Malayalan Kailayan was a *madhystha* of the village. Another inscription refers to Senapathi Rājendra-Chola Brahmādhirāyan. Rājarājavadi, Mummudi Cholavāikkal and Madhurāntaka Vilāgam are referred to. An inscription on one of the pillars records the exemption of a tax on certain lands of the temple by the village assembly.

From the proceeds of the land a *nibandha* was created for feeding in the outer enclosure of the temple three Sivayogins daily with *gummāya*, *Milakuporikkoi*, *Pulikkari* ghee and curd. This feeding was to be supervised by the *Srikārya*. A certain Arupattaṟuvaṉ Ulagamuṇḍānāna Paṇḍita Priya drafted the deed under orders of the village assembly.

Another order of the assembly exempting tax on 24 measures of land, measured by the *Rājarājankol* (a measuring rod named Rājarāja) for rearing a flower garden for the temple is found along with the earlier one. The land is said to be on the northern bank of a tank called *Munnūrruvan Kulam*.

A lady, Mārāyan Chōḻakulasundari, arranged for feeding Mahesvaras on all the nine days of the Chitra festival, for which she provided one hundred kasu. Each kasu yielded an annual interest of one *kalam* and one *tūni* of paddy thus yielding 133 1/3 *kalams* per year. Each mahesvara has also to be provided with eight betal leaves and four *pākku*.

Provision for various services are recorded in another inscription. Thiruppadigam singers, (singers of Tamil hymns), instrument players, potters for providing pots, uvaccas, flower garland makers, and others were provided with remuneration in paddy.

The Rājēndra Cholan Vāykkāl and the Parakesari Vāykkāl were the canals, besides Mummudicholavāykkal, that irrigated the fields of the village. The Mummudicholavāykkāl was named after Rājarāja, the other two are after the name of Rājendra I. This shows that agricultural activity was stepped up during the reign of Rājarāja and Rājendra I.

An instrument player got ten measures (one *kuruṇi* and two *nāḻis)* of paddy per day. This would work out to 20 rupees per day in today's currency (if calculated at the rate of four rupees per measure of rice). A potter got 12 measures of paddy (Rs. 24- per day) and a garland maker five (Rs. 10/- per day). Another point of interest is that they calculated interest taking 360 days for one year.

The Vishnu temple in the village, a later structure, is called Ramadevaperumal in one inscription. In the prākāra of the temple is noticed an inscribed grinding stone. The inscription, in 10th century characters, refers to a flower garden.

The Mahābhārata was expounded in the village. For this provision was made.

Thiruvellarai Paintings

V. Vedachalam

The paintings found on the ceilings of the Chitramandapa of the Pundarikāksha temple, at Tiruvellarai, near Srirangam, in Tiruchi district, will come as a revelation to students of South Indian painting. The paintings bear such a close resemblance to the famous Lepakshi murals that one is tempted to suggest the school of artists, if not the same artist, as the authors of these murals.

Originally the ceilings of the first enclosure around the main shrine and also the walls around it were painted but these murals have disappeared. The walls of the sanctum seems to have portrayed the ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu, but these paintings are now almost invisible. It is the paintings on the ceiling of the Chitramandapa that attract attention.

The mandapa immediately in front of the sanctum is now called *chitramandapa* (painted mandapa) probably on account of the murals. It is a rectangular hall. with a comparatively high ceiling. The pillars, corbels, and ceilings were originally painted, but now only those on the corbels and ceilings are preserved. Except for natural decay at places and also ignorant destruction by electrical wiring, the panels may be considered well preserved.

Two types of murals can be distinguished, purely decorative paintings as on the corbels and narrative murals, which form the main theme.

One of the interesting themes of decorative art, is the portrayal of two or more figures with a single head. A fish and a human figure, a bull and an elephant with a single head, and two fish shown horizontally with a single head can be seen.

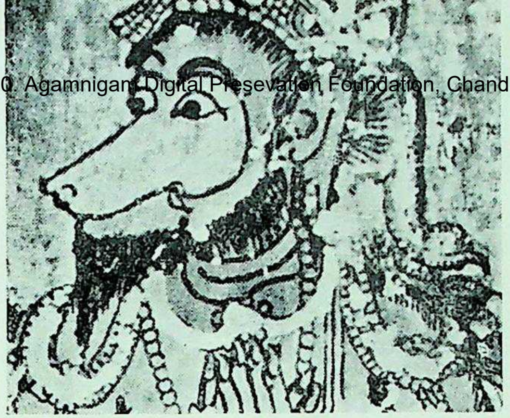
One of the panels depicts snake charmer. He is playing on a pipe and the cobra with its spread out hood, listens to his music. By the side of the charmer are two monkeys seated. Two spectators are shown looking at what is going on. It is interesting to note that in a panel from the Amaravati Buddhist sculptures, a snake charmer is portrayed and by the side of the charmer, is seen a seated monkey. Another motif found in the paintings is a youth holding a bull, also a common motif from the early period. A scene of rustic interest figures a male monkey embracing a female one. A third one is joking at them. Two others are watching the scene. Yet another scene shows a cow feeding its calf and the cowherd standing by with a milking vessel. There are ponds showing kinds of fish and swans sporting in them.

A scene depicts Krishna as a child, kneeling and drinking the milk of a cow straight from its udder, and two women beautifully dressed stand by the side. Another depicts Krishna dancing on Kāliya.

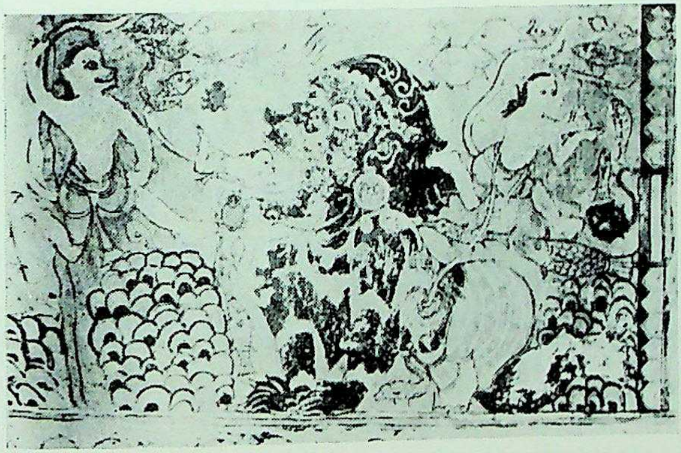
Two panels, one depicting a tiger attacking a buffalo, and another showing a yali attacking an elephant, are worthy of note. Beside these panels there are geometric and floral designs.

The narrative paintings on the ceilings portray continuously episodes from the Kishkinda and Sundarakandas of the Ramayana. The whole of the Chitramandapa ceiling carries panels of pictures from the Kishkinda kanda. These begin with Rama and Lakshmana's meeting Sugriva. Sugriva describes his conflict with Vāli. Rama aims an arrow at the seven tala trees. A snake is found below the trees. A part of the panel at the end of this row is lost.

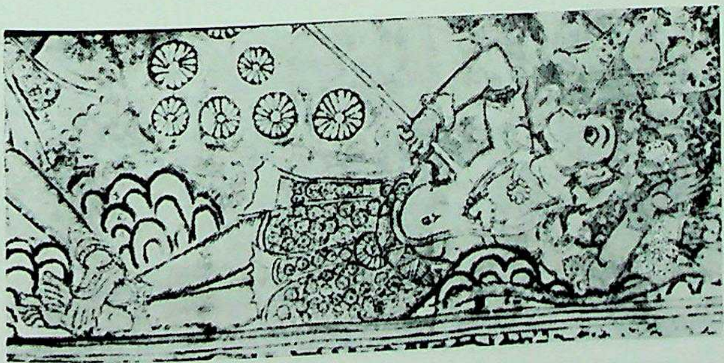
The second row shows Sugriva and Rama becoming friends, Sugriva narrating his sufferings, Vāli and Sugriva fighting, Rama aiming an arrow from behind a tree, Vāli's death and his coronation. Then follows Sugriva Pattabhishēka, which is a grand scene. The women attendants are so finely portrayed that it suggests that the artists have lavished their



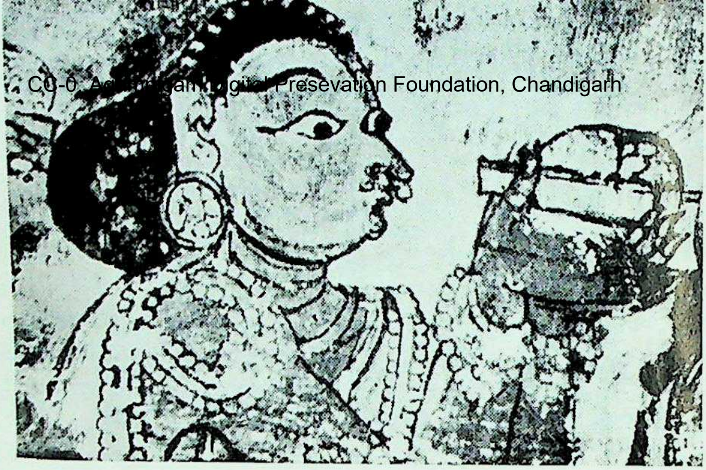
A lively monkey king.



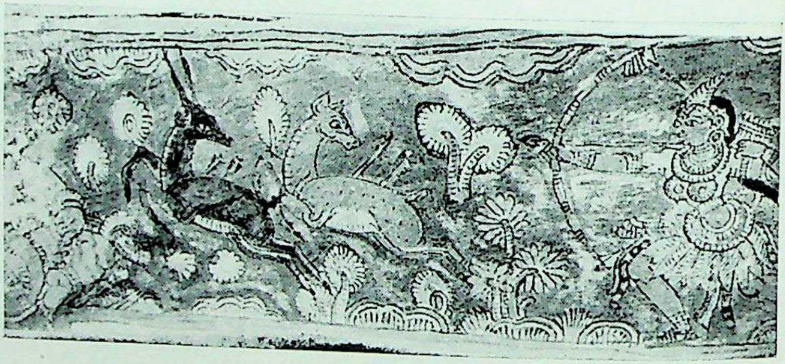
Hanuman in Visvarupa, and suddenly reducing his figure enters the mouth of the monstrous demoness, to come out tearing her stomach.



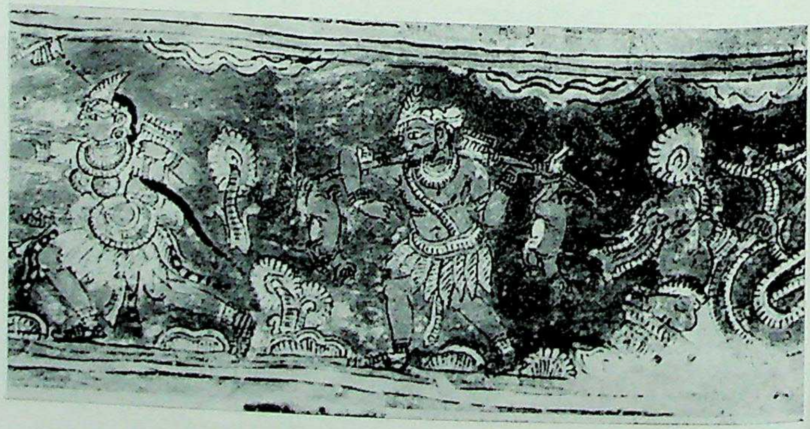
The fallen Vali, with Rama's arrow piercing his heart.



A female figure, Chitramandapa, Pundarikaksha temple, Thiruvellarai, Vijayanagar, 16th Century



A huntress chasing deers, in the ceiling of the enclosure around Tayar shrine, same temple.



A hunting scene, in the ceiling of the enclosure around Tayar shrine, same temple.

skill in this panel. The women in this panel bear a close resemblance to the Lepakshi women.

The third row towards the entrance depicts the despatch of monkeys in all directions, the monkeys meeting Sampati etc. Hanuman crossing the ocean is graphically portrayed. The Rākashasi, emanating from ocean, tries to devour Hanuman, but he assumes a gigantic form, and suddenly becoming a dwarf enters the mouth and comes out piercing her body. The demoness is impressively portrayed. Various types of fish are shown in the ocean.

It is evident that the paintings even in the Chitramandapa have suffered both at the beginning and at the end. The figures are somewhat slim and tall. They wear the same attire and ornaments, as in the Hampi and Lepakshi murals.

The ceilings of the enclosure around the Tāyār shrine, are decorated with varied geometric designs. In between are hunters, dancers and animal figures. These are well preserved.

The temple received great benefactions in Vijayanagar days. Inscriptions assignable to the period from mid-15th century to mid 16th indicate great religious activity. It is not unlikely that the paintings were added during this period. A date around 1550 A.D. may not be much off the mark.

A Tantric image at Darasuram and Takkayagapparani

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

Chakrayi

An interesting sculpture, in a temple of recent origin at Darasuram is now worshipped as Chakrāyi[1] and is the main deity enshrined in the sanctum. It seems to be of the Chola period assignable to the 12th century.

The sculpture represents a nude goddess seated in a frog leg posture, with her legs apart, and showing her *Yoni* prominently. In both her hands she seems to be holding locks of hair. Instead of a human head, she is shown with a full blown lotus, as her head. The sculpture is carved on a slab about one metre in height and 1. 5. metre in width.

The Goddess is worshipped by all sections of the people, including Brahmins. The Saurashtra community is greatly devoted to her. Woman, particularly after Child birth, take the tender baby to the temple, place it before the Goddess and propitiate her. This is a pointer to Her association with the fertility cult.

The worship of such a deity in northern India, from the early centuries of the Christian era, is attested by similar sculptures found at Bhita, Kausambi and Thusi in Uttar-Pradesh, at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesha and at Ter and Nevasa in Maharashtra.[2] The inscribed sculpture from Nagarjunakonda[3] refers to the consecration of the deity by a queen, who is called *Avidhavā* and *Jivatputrā* - one whose husband is alive *Sumangali* and whose child is alive. The inscription seems to suggest that the deity was consecrated for a happy life with husband and the longevity of her child.

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[1] I am thankful to Mr. N Sethuraman of Kumbakonam for having brought to my notice, the existence of this sculpture.

[2] Devangana Desai. "The Erotic sculpture in India" —Ref.

[3] Nagarjunakonda Inscription. Ref.

A similar figure, but of excellent proportions and carved with a sense of aesthetic perfection, is now preserved in the site museum at Badami.[4] It is a classical example of Early Chalukyan art and is assignable to the seventh century A. D. Another Chalukyan example is now in Alampur Museum[5] The sculpture at Darasuram bears a close resemblance to this..

Devangana Desai illustrates an interesting panel in her 'Erotic sculpture of India'. The sculpture (F. 118) shows ascetics worshipping the Goddess and her symbolic form in the Chousath Yogini temple, at Bheragat. The female organ is portrayed seperately and prominently below the Goddess, and two ascetics are seen worshipping it. The worship of the yoni and its association with the Chausat Yogini temple, clearly indicate its tantric character.

The presense of this sculpture at Darasuram shows that this cult was prevalent in Tamilnadu as well. This is the first time that such a sculpture is noticed in Tamilnad. Its occurence at Darasuram, has a special significance.

Takkayāgapparani

Darasuram was established as a capital by Rājarāja Chola II in the middle of the 12th century A. D. Its original name was Rajarajapuram, the present name being a corrupt form. A poet who adorned the court of Rājarāja II, was Ottakutthan. He has written many excellent poems. His magnum opus is undoubtedly *Takkayāgapparani*.

The *Dakshayāgaparani* itself seems to be a Sākta work. It would be therefore interesting to know about it, 'its author' and the sākta cult prevalent at that time so that the presence of this Tantric cult image at Darasuram will be understood in its proper perspective.

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[4] I am thankful to the American Institute of Indian studies for permitting me to use the photograph of this sculpture in this issue.

[5] Devangana Desai, Ref.

'Takkayāgapparani' Dakshayāgapparani is by far the best literary work of the Chola period that throws valuable light on Sākta customs and beliefs. Since the author was a court poet under three successive Chola rulers, we are sure of its date and will be in a position to asses the impact of the Sākta cult of the period.

Ottakkūttan

Ottakkūttan, a gifted poet and prolific writer adorned the courts of Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II and Rājarāja II. He has composed a type of poetry called *ula* on all the three patrons and these works are now called *Mūvar ulā* (i.e. ulās on three). He has composed two *paraṇis*, one on Vikramachola's conquest of Kalinga and the other on the destruction of Daksha Yagna. The former has not survived, while the later is undoubtedly the best of the poet's creations. Besides the *ulas* and *paranis*, Ottakkuttar has sung many other poems like *Kulottungan Pillai Tamil* (on Kulottunga II) *Gangeyan Nālāyirakkovai* (four thousand amorous poems on Gangeya, a patron) *Arumpai Tolloyiram* (Arumpai, nine hundred) and *Īṭṭi Eḻupadu* (spear seventy) etc.[6]

Ottakkūttan was such an accomplished poet that he was called *Kaviccakravarti* (Emperor among poets), *Kavi Rākshasa*, and *Kālakkavi*. *Kālam* means piper. A special privilege seems to have been conferred on him by the king in recognition of his poetic genius. When he went out, pipes were blown announcing his visit. Hence "*Kālakkavi*". His mastery of the sāstras earned him the title *Sarvagna Kavi*. It is said that when he was composing the *ula* on Rajaraja Chola II, the king presented him a golden coconut for each verse.

Ottakūttan was a great devotee of Goddess Saraswathi, This fact he mentions in one of his verses. But it is in describing the Sakti cult that he excels. In many verses he makes pointed reference to *Yāmala tantras* and other works connected with the Sākta religion.

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[6] U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Takkayāgapparani, (introduction) Madras. 1960.

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Kūttan gives many important details relating to the tantric cult in this work. There is an excellant commentary on this work which seems to be contemporary with it. It furnishes an amazing wealth of information on the cult.

Ottakūttan was often called ‘*Gauḍa kavi*. It is an indication of his contact with the *Gauḍa* tradition of Bengal where the cult reigned supreme. I have shown elsewhere that Kuttan was present when the temple at Darasuram was built. He makes Rajarajesvara, the presiding deity of the temple, as the hero of the poem.

The Takkayāgapparani, has an excellant commentary by an anonymous author. It is one of the best commentaries in Tamil literature. According to tradition, the commentator was a disciple of Ottakkuttan himself. In all probability he was. In many places he refers to historic personages mentioned in epigraphs, otherwise unknown. His diction and vocabularies reflect the Chola period. In his commentary he at times refers to variant readings and comments on them. Probably the variations were made by the poet himself. At any rate he is not far removed in time from Ottakkūttan, the author of the *parani*. The commentator gives such an excellant exposition of the verses and their meanings that it is impossible to deal with this work without the commentary.

The Takkayāgapparani, set in a conventional pattern, deals with the appearance of Vīrabhadra at the command of Siva, and punishing the Gods who had participated in Daksha's sacrifice and gift of a goat's head to Daksha. As mentioned in the Kalingattuparani,[7] the work includes a description of Kāli, her forest, her temple, the attendant goblins and her worshippers. At the end, when Vīrabhadra has defeated all the Gods and destroyed the *Yagna*, the goblins offered *Kalavelvi* to Kali and delighted in the feast. The narration of the story need not detain us here. We will confine ourselves to the elements of the Sākta cult.

Devi as Vishnu Māyā

Among various aspects of the Devi described in this text one of the most striking is the complete identification of the Devi

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[7] Takkayagapparani V. 104.

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with the attributes of Vishnu.[8] She is called *Māyōl* which is the feminine form of *Māyan* i. e. Vishnu. Acording to popular puranas, Vishnu took the form of Mohini, distributed nectar to the Devas and the Asuras and in the process deceived the Asuras and gave it to the Devas. In this text the Goddess is said to have assumed the form of Mohini to distribute *Amrtapāna* to the Gods and put an end of the lives of the Asuras.[9] The Devi, like Trivikrama Vishnu is said to have measured the universe with her lotus feet. These are said to have reached the *Mōkshaloka* piercing on the way of Ākāsa, the *elācakra* (Sūrya), Mahamēru, the clouds and cyclonic storms.

She swallowed the fourteen universes as *amrita* through her rose lipped mouth and created them again through the red lotus issuing from her naval of her beautiful abdomen. The Devi moves on her mount which is garuda. Here the allusion is to Vishnu as Krishna swallowing the entire universe through his mouth and creating the universe through Brahma who issued forth from his naval lotus. That she had Garuda as her vehicle also suggests her Vishnu aspect.

The Devi slept on the coiled serpent, on the milky ocean.[10] She was wearing *Kausika* silk as garment. (Siva wears skin while it is Vishnu who wears silk). The Goddess has the serpent king as her seat. This thousand hooded cobra had a thousand precious gems, and the hoods and gems resembled a thousand milky oceans and thousand *Ādityas*. (This alludes to the thousand hooded Ādisesha). Its eyes emanated deadly poison, like the *Vādava* fire residing in the ocean. Its teeth were bent like the crescent moon, full of poison. This snake was greater than Meru.

The Devi carried the five weapons, the *danda*, the *khadga*, the bow, the conch and the discus, associated with Vishnu. Her body was green in colour like the emerald. (Vishnu's colour is *maragatha)*. She is said to be seated on Anantasayana.

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[8] Takkayagapparani. V. 104.

[9] „ V. 107.

[10] „ V. 111.

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The above attributes of the Devi clearly indicate that she was Vishnu as such, described by the commentator as Vishnu Māyā. The probable reason for the identification of Devi with Vishnu, was that she was always regarded as the sister of Vishnu. A second reason probably was that Vishnu formed the left half of Siva in his Haribara aspect. The Devi also formed the left half of Siva and as such, Vishnu and Parvati forming the left half of Siva were considered identical. Such absolute identity is noticed for the first time in this work in Tamilnadu.

Attendants

Sridevi and Saraswati were gifted to Umāparameswari as *strīdana* by their respective husbands, Vishnu and Brahma, so that they may serve the Goddess.[11] They are said to have placed their lotuses at the feet of the Goddess. The commentator gives an interesting explanation. Besides Sridevi, Vishnu had Bhudēvi as his consort. Likewise Brahma had Savitri in addition to Saraswati as his consort. Sridevi and Sarasvati worshipped Parameswari (who is the giver of all *Soubhāgyas* - *Sowboāgya Kartri*) with their red and white roses respectively in order that they may be the favourites of their husbands in preference to the other. Parameswari granted their prayers.

Moṭi or Durga Parameswari forms the left half of Siva. The seven oceans, the seven crevices, the seven mountains and the Cakravāla mountain reside in her part.[12] She mounts the sharp-horned deer.[13] She made the heart of her husband melt in love for her *Payodhara*. She also rides a sturdy lion.[14]

The Devi is wearing a serpent as a pendent. Makara kundalas adorn her ears, while *vāhuvalaya* and bracelets with Yali face, decorate her shoulders. One half of her is that of her Lord Siva, whose intense love she commands. While she was lying on the serpent, Siva united with her.[15] The Devi carries sūla in her hand.[16] A parrot is to be seen on one of her arms[17] and a crescent moon on her *jaṭas*. She is fond of music.[18]

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[11] ,, V. 110-117.
[12] ,, V. 58.
[13] ,, V. 75.
[14] ,, V. 74.
[15] ,, V. 111.
[16] ,, 137.
[17] ,, V. 601.
[18] ,, V. 184.

The Devi's feet are adored with *nupuras*; and *Veda mantra-sākas* also adorn her feet.[19]

When the Devi takes a bath in the *mānasa tīrtha* of the Himalayas, Lakshmi touches her feet and Bhūdevi touches her body (obviously help her in bathing). Saraswati will be seated in front of the Goddess listening to her commands.[20] Devi's foremost quality is her *Pativratā dharma*. By her effulgent jothi, she is Omniscient.

The Devi temple

It is impossible to describe the temple of the Goddess as it is far beyond description. The seven nether worlds, also called the *Sapta Pātālas*, are the lower tiers of her temple and the seven heavenly worlds form the upper tiers. The *Udayagiri* and *Astagiri* mountains stand at the entrance. The seven oceans act as the godown of her temple. The Cakravālagiri acts as the enclosure of the temple, while the trident in her hand stands as the *rakshā* of the whole temple. *Mahodara Gundodara*, and *Vyāghramukha*, and other *Kāranaganānāthās* stood as gatekeepers. After obtaining their permission. Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Iswara and Sadasiva, who are the deities of the elements, enter the temple. The *balipitha* of the Goddess who is Visvesvari and Vedanāyaki, is the Mahāmēru. At the entrance of the temple there is the *Padmanidhi*.[21] Swans and peacocks dance in the temple of the goddess[22] while Indra and others play musical instruments in her temple.[23] Sūrya and Chandra are the lamps burning in her temple.[24]

Here we may make a diagression on the temple of the Goddess as portrayed in the Kalingattupparani and the Takkayāgapparani. In the Kalingattupparani. a temple described is a fantastic temple indeed. It is said to have been erected with flesh, bones, blood etc. There, the entire description was based on the gruesome battle that formed the subject matter. But here the purpose was a divine theme and all the descriptions are soul

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19. ,, V. 112.
20. ,, V. 221,
21. ,, V. 73.
22. ,, V. 111.
23. ,, V. 112.
24. ,, V. 137.

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elevating divine concepts which incidentally show the Supreme Nature of the Goddess as the very embodiment of Divine Nature. In that sense Takkayāgapparani is certainly an improvement over its predecessor. While the Kalingattupparani states that temple was in the form of a hut, the shape of the temple is not indicated in this work.

The great tree

The present text deals with a *Vata Vrksa*, a banyan tree as the abode of the Devi. This tree comes in for special and detailed treatment in this text. The description is again more poetical and philosophical than real. It is said to have supported the entire *andagolas*, when the ocean dried up at the deluge. Even if all the twelve suns simultaneously shine, causing all the oceans to dry by their heat, their rays cannot penetrate the leaves to the ground below which was ever cool. If one Brahma dies one leaf will fall from it. If that leaf falls in the ocean, the entire ocean will be dried up. If the fire of deluge arises, that itself will be charred and allowed to fall by the cool shades of the branches.

When the final cyclonic storm blows, and is capable of uprooting not only the universe but also the various Kulagiri by its velocity, even a single leaf of the tree of the Goddess will not be shaken by it. It will stand so firm. When there comes the final rain to destroy the world, this tree will protect the world from it.

When Vishnu swallowed the fourteen worlds, he wanted to recline, and found the Milky Ocean insufficient. He came and slept in one of the leaves of this tree Siva sat under its shades and taught the sixty four *kalas* to his followers. When the entire worlds were being destroyed by Varuna and Vata at *Sarva samhāra lokayugānta*, the very end of the world, this tree would give protection. Mahādeva will sleep spreading an elephant skin as bed beneath its shades and likewise Vishnu will safely recline on his serpents (*ananta*), The peacock of Subrahmanya and the Garuda of Vishnu are from this tree. The (*ashtamahā nāgas*), eight great serpents, move under its shades, The eight directional elephants (*ashtadikgajas*) are tied to its shoots.

In order to emphasise the supreme nature of the Goddess, the Gods of all other faiths. like Vishnu, Siva, Subrahmanya etc., are shown either taking protection under her tree, or deriving their mounts etc. from it, a poetic and at the sametime ingenious method of glorifying the Goddess.

The Yoga Yāmala

The temple of the Devi is adored by *Bhūta* and *paisāca* ganas. The Vedas and Sivāgamas adore her temple. The temple of Iswari who is praised by *Yoga Yāmala Sāstras* is liked by all the eight *gananāthas*. In her temple, Vishnu learns *Sivagnāna* (*Saiva Siddhānta Sāstra*) taught by Sivamahādeva. Likewise Brahma and Indra will recite the Siva Āgamas. In the front yard of the temple, divine damsels like Urvasi and Rambha will pay obeisance.

The Yoginis in the temple of Paramesvari looked like Mohinis, not by their own beauty, but by constantly medidating upon the Goddess, who herself was Mohini. Some damsels in the temple of Paramesvari were called *Carmini*. *Carmini* are those who cover themselves with skin.[25] But here the Carminis were the bearers of Devi's feet. The *Sākini,* whose number could not be counted easily are the standard bearers of the Devi.[26] According to the commentator, the Sākinis are women, born of Brahmin mothers of the love of Siva.

The work is also remarkable for the information it provides on the followers of *Yāmala tantras* in their worship of Kāli. The followers of *Mayānavāsini* are the *mantra sādhakas* who put on *Bhairava Vesha* and are called *Bhairavās* in the text and *Bhairava Vesha dhāri* in the commentary. They will select the sensitive heads among them severe them and offer them to the Goddess as flowers, *Sira pushpas*, which are heaped as mountains. Since the land of the Goddess is the dry desert, all the heads would be charred and burnt to ashes by the heat of the desert. the desciples of these *mantra sādhakas*, coming to do *archana* and desirous of carrying the *Sirapushpas* as *Nirmālaya* will laugh on seeing the heads burnt to ashes.[27] The commentator says, the *Yāmalāchāryas* are those who are well versed in the *Sakala Pancakas* which are *Madhu, Matsya Māmsa, Mudra* and *Maithuna*. This information is available in the *Agama Sāstras* of the *Mahāvratin* The above note of the commentator shows that there were practitioners of the *sakala pancaka* in Tamilnādu, in the 12th century A. D.

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[25] ,, V. 88. Commentary.

[26] ,, V. 89.

The mantrasādhakas

The *mantrasādhakas* of the Yamala Sāstras of Paramesvari, will severe their own heads, but prevent their lives being extinquished and retain them in their bodies by yogic powers. Then standing before Paramesvari in rare poses, they kindle their (*Yogāgni*) the Yogic fire, and light the circle of fire. *agni mandala* in the naval part of their body *Nābhi kamala* and allow the lamp of *hrdaya kamala* (the lotus of heart) to burn as a perpetual lamp. This is undoubtedly an interesting reference to the yogic practises of the *Mantra sādhakas*, who believed that, after offering their heads, they could raise their *Kundalini Sakti* and allow it to burn the lamp of heart. It must be remembered that the word *Yogayāmala* to the Goddess indicates the yogic tilt of the text.

Some *Mantra sādhakas* will cut their hearts and head, and their remaining trunk will circumambulate the Devi temple with folded hands.[28] This is expressed in a fine poetic form. 'When they cut *hrdaya kamala*, their *adara kamala* (face) will blossom and when their '*adarakamala* is severed, their *hrdaya kamala* would blossom. When both are cut, their hands will be folded as a *kamala* and so doing will go around the temple'. It only shows that when they cut the parts of their body they never screamed in pain but learnt to bear with it and even rejoice at it.

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27. „ V. 91.
28. „ V. 92.

Some *mantra sādhakas* wore black shirts with conch-shells stitched on it in rows.[29] Lord Bhairava himself is called *kariya kanjagan*, the wearer of a black shirt. Some *Mantra sādhakas* will place lamps on their body and head and burn them in front of the deity. This peculiar custom has survived to this day In the temple of Vaidhesvaran Koil, in Tanjore district, people take a vow to burn such lamps. They lie in front of the deity with a lamp on their chest or on their forehead They lie in the same position with the lamps filled with ghee and lit the lamps till they burn themselves out. Probably this is a survival of one of the Sākta cult referred to in the above verse.[30]

In the temple of the Devi there are five flower gardens, consisting of *Kalpa*, *Pārijāta*, *Mandara Candana* and *Aricandana* trees. The five flowers of Manmatha namely, *Ma*, *Asoka*, *Kamala*, *Mullai* and *Kuvalai* cannot penetrate these gardens. (i. e. these are pure and kept free of Cupids' sports).

In the temple of the Devi. the main *Yāmalas* like the *Brahma Yāmalas* and the secondary *Yāmalas* numbering 91, and the 18 *purānas (Brahmāndapurāna* is the first; *Vishnu Purāna* the middle and the *Kuzhmāṇḍa purāna* the last) praise the greatness of the Goddess, Obviously they were studied in the temple.

Some followers will be dancing violently when the drum called *tudi* is beaten. Some would move around and cut to pieces the vultures. Some would capture the tigers alive, skin them and wear their skins as garments with blood still oozing out from them.[31] Some would wear the *Umattai* flowers on their head and move about, with tridents in their hand[32] and yet others will capture deadly serpents, eight in number, and tie them around their waist as belts. There were others who will insert human skulls into these snakes and tie them as waist bands.[33] Probably some tied them on their hands also. When

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29. ,, V. 93.
30. ,, V. 60.
31. ,, V. 97.
32. ,, V. 98.
33. ,, V. 99.

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heroic people fell (in enounter) some would take in their fingers the blood from the intestine and wear it as *tilaka* on their foreheads. They would also be wearing thirteen chank-shell chains in their arms.[34] Yet others would carry the Vajra in their right arms and shields in their left arms.[35] There were also others who would wear green leaves as garments and be adoring Cakras till such time that their bodily heat burns up the green leaves.[36]

In short, Indra, Agni, Varuna, Vāyu, Candra, Sūrya, Nakshatras and all other Brahmas are *Mantra Sādhakas* in the temple of the Devi and they also received fame and prosperity *(aisvarya)* by their *Sādhanas*. The women who do personal service to the Goddess are Lakshmi, Saraswati and other *pradhāna* stars, who are the *Yoginis* performing *Yoganishṭa*.

It has been mentioned earlier that Kūttan wrote his work at Darasuram and that when this great work Dakshayāgapparani was written the city was full of such *Sākta* cult ideas as reflected in the work. It is therefore no wonder that this unique Tantric sculpture assignable to 12th century Chola period is found at Darasuram.

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34. ,, V. 100.
35. ,, V. 101.
36. ,, V. 122.

New Light on the Coins of Madurai Nayaks

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

Elliot in his "coins of Southern India," illustrates two coins
No. 167 :- Copper
Obverse: Same as above (Standing figure)
Reverse: bull erect to right, sun and moon.
No. 169 :- Copper.
Obverse: Same as two lost.
Reverse: Bull to right, cresent above."

Commenting on this, he says, "A large number of coins are found which have the Ceylon standing figure on the obverse and a bull on the reverse with various symbols. I am inclined, though with hesitation, to attribute them to the later Chola period. Some of these have the Nāgari letter 'V' in front of the animal, indicating perhaps the initial letter of the royal name (Vikrama)"[1]

Regarding the coins of the Madurai Nayaks, Sir. T. Desikachari made a bold suggestion. "The rule of Nayaks was probably in the name of the titular Pandya King and [it is not unlikely that they were issued by the Nayaks themselves in the name of the Pandyas[2] Coins of later time issued during the Nayaka rule, bearing the names of Visvanatha and his successors, sometimes also having the nameof the presiding deity of the Madurai temples or the name of temple itself in Tamil and Telugu occur in large numbers"[3]

Mr. Vidya Prakash in his "Coinage of Southern India"[4] illustrates some coins and states that a number of copper

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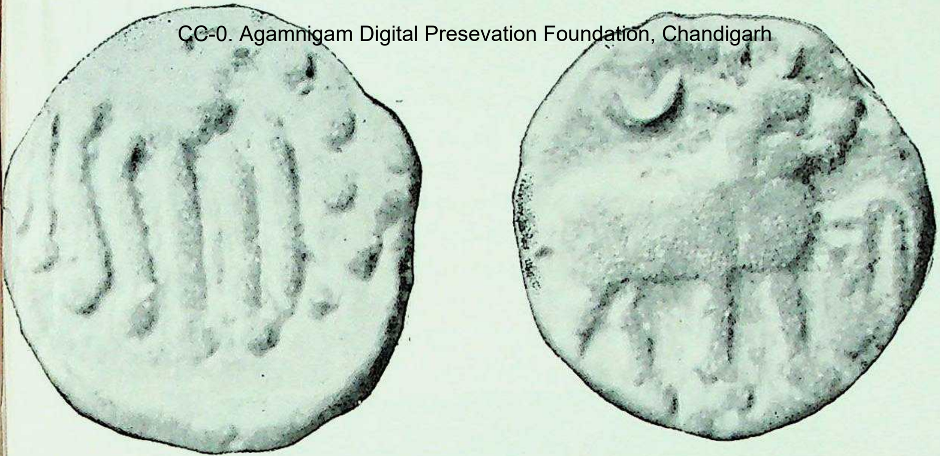
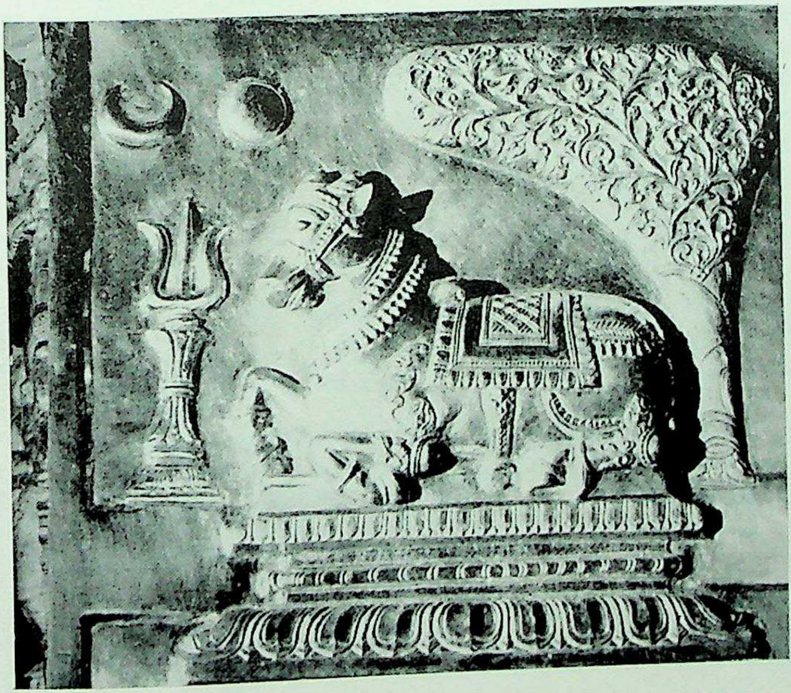
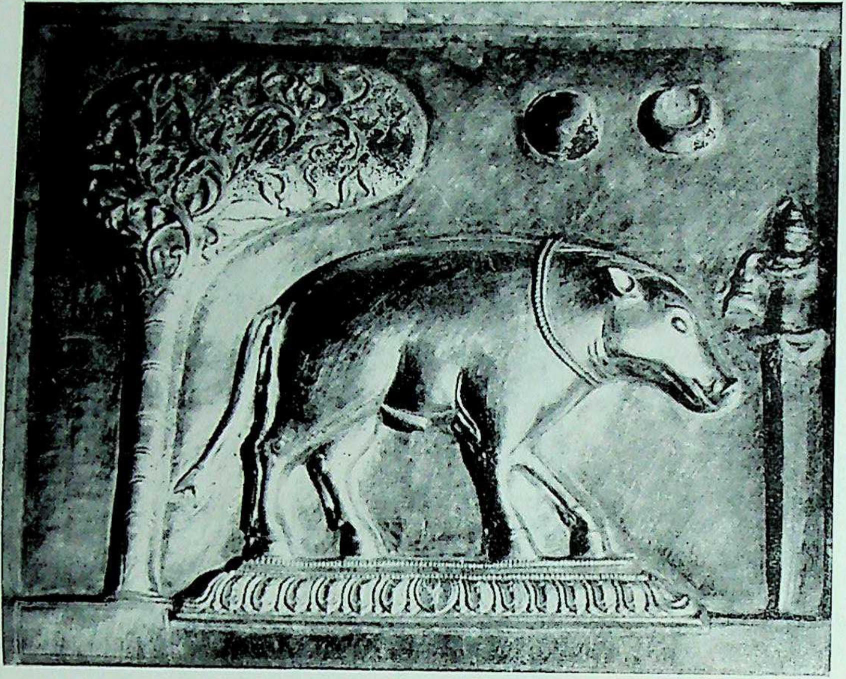
1. Elliot, Coins of Southern India - pp. 134.
2. Sir T. Desikachari - Dravidian Coins - p. 17.
3. Ibid. p. 18.
4. Mr. Vidya Prakash - Coinage of Southern India - Varanasi - 1968 - Plate VI, 14-17.



An issue of Madurai Nayak ?



Seated bull, sula, tree, sun and moon, The emblem of Madurai Nayaks in the dhvajasthambha of Lord Sundareswara, Madurai.



Embossed metal work. Gold gilded, on the dhvajasthamba of Lord Sundareswara shrine, showing the Vijayanagar emblem.

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coins depict a crude figure of a standing king on the obverse and a standing bull and a few symbols and occasionally some letters in Kannada or Nagari, like 'Vi' in the reverse[5] These coins appear to have been issued by Chola viceroys of Kulottunga in Chalukya territory. (Footnote :-The adoption of bull was probably due to Hoysala influence)[6]

Obviously all writers on the subject have taken the coin with bull on one side and the standing Ceylon man on the other as an issue of either the Cholas or their feudatories. But they were the coins issued by the Nayaks of Madurai. These issues are is discussed in this paper.

The Madurai Nayak dynasty was established by Visvanatha towards the close of the rule of Krishnadeva raya, the Vijaya nagara ruler, in 1529–30 A. D. The Pandya country was always vibrant and, though vanquished, it forced its conquerors to respect its tradition. When the Cholas won the Pandya country and established their own descendents on the throne, they assumed the title of Chola-Pandyas When Visvanatha Nayak established his rule at Madurai, he wisely issued coins bearing the Pandya symbols. Such coins have come down to us. They bear on the obverse the standing Ceylon man, and on the roverse the two fish and a sceptre in the middle with the legend, Visvanatha, in Tamil. It is this type of coin that Sir. T. Desikachari refers to as Nayak coins and he is absolutely right.[7] The coins with bull standing on the reverse also belong to the same dynasty. Sir. T. Desikachari's coin 72 shows a standing bull on the obverse and two fish and a sceptre on the reverse.

Before we discuss this coin. it is necessary to discus two flagstaffs in the Madurai Minakshi temple and the one in the Subrahmanya temple at Thirupparankunram.

The flagstaff in front of Goddess Minakshi's shrine is covered with copper sheets gilded with gold. It is an orna-

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[5] Ibid - Plate VI, 14-17.

[6] Ibid. pp. 88.

[7] Sir T. Desikachari, Plate IV, No. 69, 70.

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mental metal covering, having four facets at the bottom. On each face, figures are found carved. At the front is a Ganesa image and facing the Goddess, Annapūrna. On either side we have other figures. On one side a boar, a sword the sun and moon are portrayed. This is obviously the symbol of the Vijayanagara dynasty. On the other side is shown a seated bull under a tree, with a sword in front and the sun and the moon.

The flag staff in front of the shrines of Lord Sundaresvara and Subrahmanya also carry the figures of boar on one side, and bull on the other, with minor variation, noticed in the representation of the other two faces. The boar on one side and the bull on the other are found in all the three ffag staffs, This is significant.

A historical work '*Madurai Thiruppanimālai*' listing the renovations done by various people through the centuries, mentions that the flagmast in front of Mīnakshi's shrine was set up by one Mallappa and that Virappa Nayak, the son of Krishnappa renewed it with gold-covering, in the second half of the 16th century.

The Madurai and Thirupparankundram temples received great benefactions from Thirumalai Nāyakar in the 17th century. The Nayaks of Madurai in the 17th century continued to remain feudatories of Vijayanagar, though at times they tried to shake of the yoke. It is obvious that they made use of the Vijayanagar emblem on one side and their own, the seated bull with a dagger on the other side of the flagstaff This proves that the bull, standing or seated is an emblem of the Nāyaks of Madurai.

From where did they derive their bull emblem. This is an interesting question. Two Nāyaks of Madurai claimed Kanchipuram as their ancestral home, a point often missed by historians. In the *Thiruppanimalai*,[8] Virappa Nāyak and Thirumalai Nāyak are called Kacchi Bhupati.

1. கச்சி வாழ் கிருஷ்ண வீரப்பனே

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[8] Thiruppanimalai.

2. கச்சித் திருமலே பூபதி

Kumara Gurruparar, a well known poet of of the 17th century, mentions "Thirumalai Bhupati of Kacci nagar.' in his work "*Madurai Meenakshi Ammai Kuram,*"[9]

கச்சிநகர் திருமலே பூபதி வாழி

This clearly indicates their connection with Kanchi, once the flourishing capital of the Pallavas. That Ariyanatha Mudaliyar who served under Visvanatha, Krishnappa and Virappa hailed from a village near Kanchi is not without significance. The bull emblem was a relic of the Pallavas of Kanchi, from where the Madurai Nāyaks hailed.

The coin with a standing bull on one side and the two fish and a septre on the reverse is thus clearly a coin of the Madurai Nāyak rulers. Some coins of the issue of the rulers were said to carry a standing man on the obverse and the bull with a Kannada legend 'Vi'. Now it is evident that this is an issue of Visvanatha Nayak. Visvanatha thus issued two coins.

1. With a Tamil legend and
2. With a Telugu legend,

The first carries the fish symbol and the second the bull. All these issues may now be confidently assigned to the Madurai Nāyaks.

Mr. Vidya Prakash illustrates a coin[10] which bears a conch like figure with a Tamil letter '*Ti*' on the obverse. On the reverse are a standing bull, the sword and moon. This was probably an issue of Thirumalai Nāyak.

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[9] 'Kumaragurupara Swamigal Prabandangal', Edited by U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras 1939..

[10] Mr. Vidya Prakash, Coinage of South India - 1968 - Plate VI No. 17.

Art Treasures of Thiruvadigai

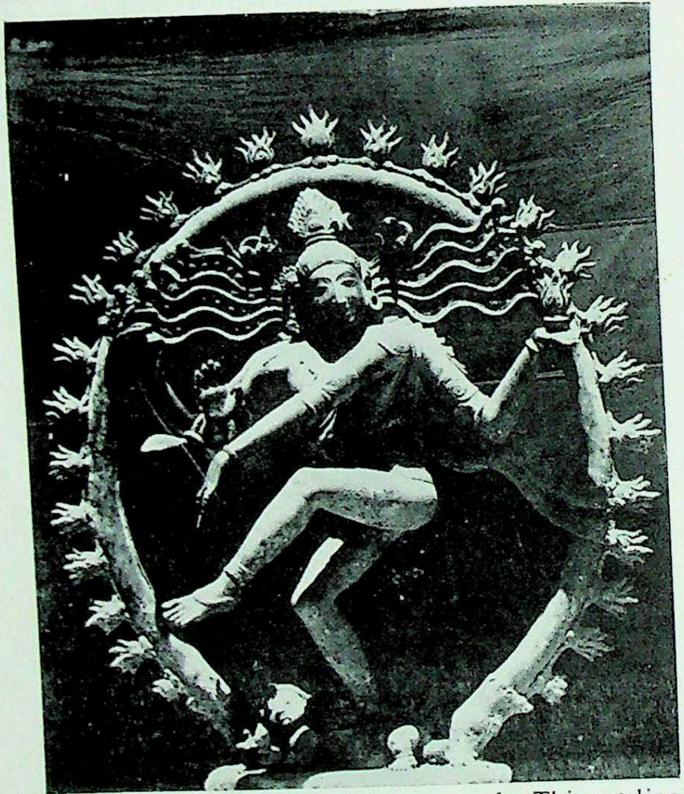
N. Marxia Gandhi

Thiruvadigai, now a village near Panrutti railway station, was intimately connected with the history of the Pallavas and the Saivite movements. The famous Pallava ruler, Mahendravarman I, is said to have been converted to Saivism by Saint Appar. Saint Appar himself, who was a Jain for part of his life, re-entered the Saiva faith, at the bid of his sister Tilakavati, in this temple, before he converted the Pallava ruler.

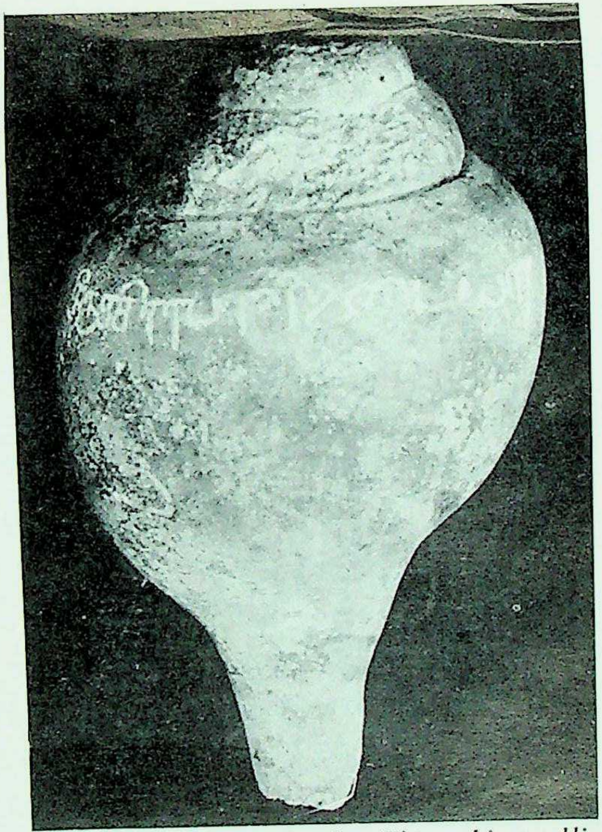
The history of the Virattanesvara temple in this village, goes back to the Pallava period. It is of the *misra* type,-built of stone upto the base and the entire superstructure, including the walls built of brick. The other walls of the sanctum carries stucco figures resembling the Pallava temples at Kanchi. From inscriptions it is learnt that the temple was renovated by Pallava Nrpatunga in the ninth century. The base was strengthened with stone by the Chera ruler, Ravivarman Kulasekhara, in the 14th century.

The Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology has brought to light many Pallava and early Chola sculptures in this village. A few Jain sculptures, representing Tirthankaras and Yaksha are found here. A small temple, now called the Gunadharisvaram, houses a Pallava linga, a Vishnu, a Surya, Ganesa and a Nandi, assignable to the seventh century. According to mediaeval Tamil literature, Mahendra built in this village a Siva temple named Gunadharisvara soon after his conversion. Though the present temple of Gunadharisvara is not the original structure, that the sculptures belong to the reign of Mahendra seems to be suggested by their stylistic affiliations.

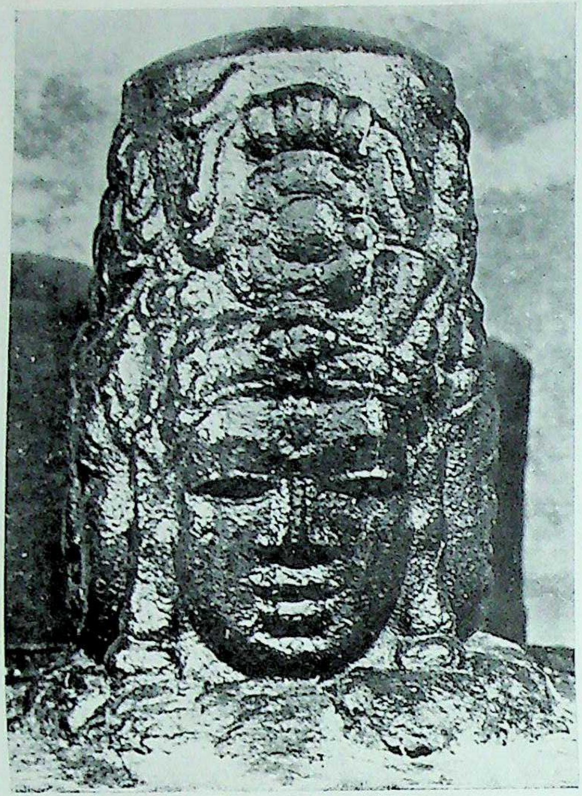
In the Virattanesvara temple itself there are many sculptures of great interest. The most outstanding is a Chatur-Mukhalinga, found in the western corridor. The treatment of the faces, each representing the appropriate aspect, such as Aghora. Tatpurasha Isana and Vamadeva, is superb.



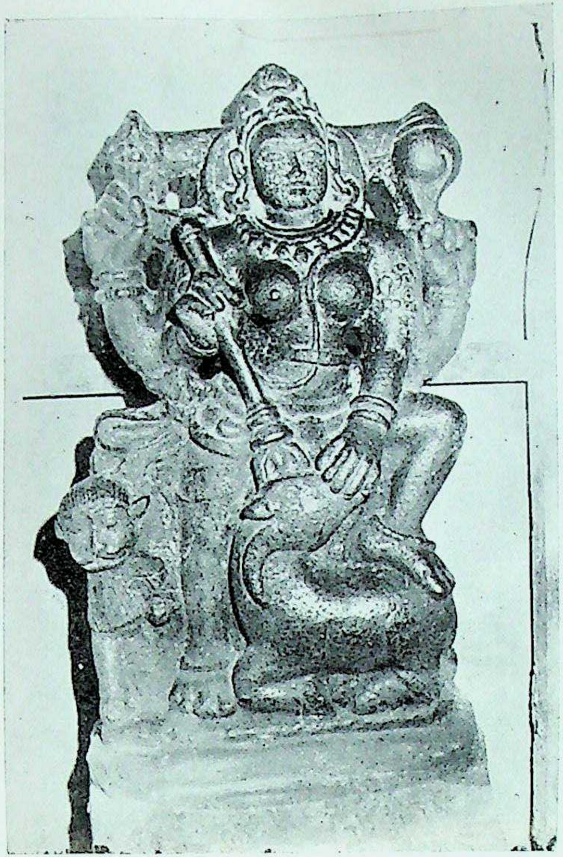
Nataraja-Bronze-Virattanesvara temple-Thiruvadigai-Later Chola-12th Century A.D.



Inscribed Conch—Reading *Thirucchirappalli udaiyar*– Thiruvadigai—12th Century A.D.



Chaturmukhalinga-Stone-Virattanesvara temple, Thiruvadigai, Pallava-7th Century A.D.



Durga-Stone-Virattanesvara temple Tiruvadigai-Nolamba-9th Century A.D.

It is undoubtdly in the Pallava style, of the seventh century. The Vrshabha in the inner mandapa of the shrine facing the main deity is an excellent Pallava bull.

In the southern corridor is housed a sculpture of Durga, now receiving regular worship. Durga is piercing a Mahisha and at the back is the lion. It is a good Nolamba sculpture of the Goddess. The presense of a Nolamba sculpture in Thiruvadigai needs explanation. The Cholas, particularly Rājarāja and Rājendra I, brought many sculptures from the Chalukya, Nolamba and Kalinga regions, which are now found in the Chola heartland These have been illustrated earlier. The Durga sculpture of Nolamba origin, in Thiruvadigai seems to be one of that group and may be assigned to the middle 10th century.

A few years ago, two bronze images of Nataraja and an inscribed conch were found while a mandapa was being repaired The Nataraja images are later Chola in style. assignable to the early 12th century

Manavirkūttan Kālingarayan, also known as Naralokaviran who was a commander under Kulottunga I, and Vikrama Chola was a great patron of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. He erected a hundred pillared hall, added many sculptures and arranged special worship. Though the mandapa erected by him has disappeared, the pillars bearing his inscriptions are found in the Tiruvadigai temple. It is likely that the bronze images of Nataraja were those worshipped by Naralokavira.

The conch bears an inscription in Chola characters reading "*Thirucchirappalli Uḍaiyār*" It is probably that this conch wa gifted by a noble from Tiruchi, as an offering to the temple. Thes characters indicate the 12th century as a possible date.

A fairly big stone scuplture of Buddha found in the prākāra of the temple, shows that Thiruvadigai, besides being a Jaina and Hindu settlement had also a Buddhist colony. The sculpture is assignable to the 10th century.

There are a number of Chola sculptures of the Saptamātas under worship in other parts of the village. They are in the fine Chola idiom assignable to the 11th century. One image of Ganesa, however, is an early Pallava sculpture of the eighth-ninth century.

New Light on Thiruvenkadu Nataraja Bronze

K. Damodaran

[The find of an inscription on the pedestal of Nataraja image now in Thiruvenkadu, dug out as a Treasare Trove, along with the famous Ardhanarisvara (now in the Madras Museum) is significant and helps us in fixing the date of the Bronze very closely. When I published my article[1] on "New bronze finds from Thiruvenkadu" I had no access to the image of Nataraja handed over to the temple for worship. Now that Damodaran has noticed this inscription, which is certainly in characters of Rajaraja's period, my earlier dating of the image seems to gain strength. I don't find any stylistic difference between the Nataraja and the accompanying Sivakami and would still assign it to the same period. However both the Nataraja and Sivakami, seem to be from a less accomplished hand than the one that produced the superlative Vrishavāhana, Devi and Ardhanārī. The bronzes of Subrahmanya with consorts, a portrait etc., found subsequently in the same village and now housed in Tanjore Art Gallery, probably belong to the same hand as the Nataraja group.]

The inscription on the pedestal of Nataraja is interesting in many ways. The inscription refers to the Lord-Natarāja as "*Desi abhayaṉidhi Yābharana Nāyaka*". There are four words in the compound 1. *Desi* 2. *Abhayanidhi* 3. *Ābharana* and 4. *Nāyaka*.

The last word Nāyaka denotes Lord. The other three words are significant.

Desi, stands for a particular type of dance which is different from *Suddha Nritta*. The Tamil work, Silappadhi

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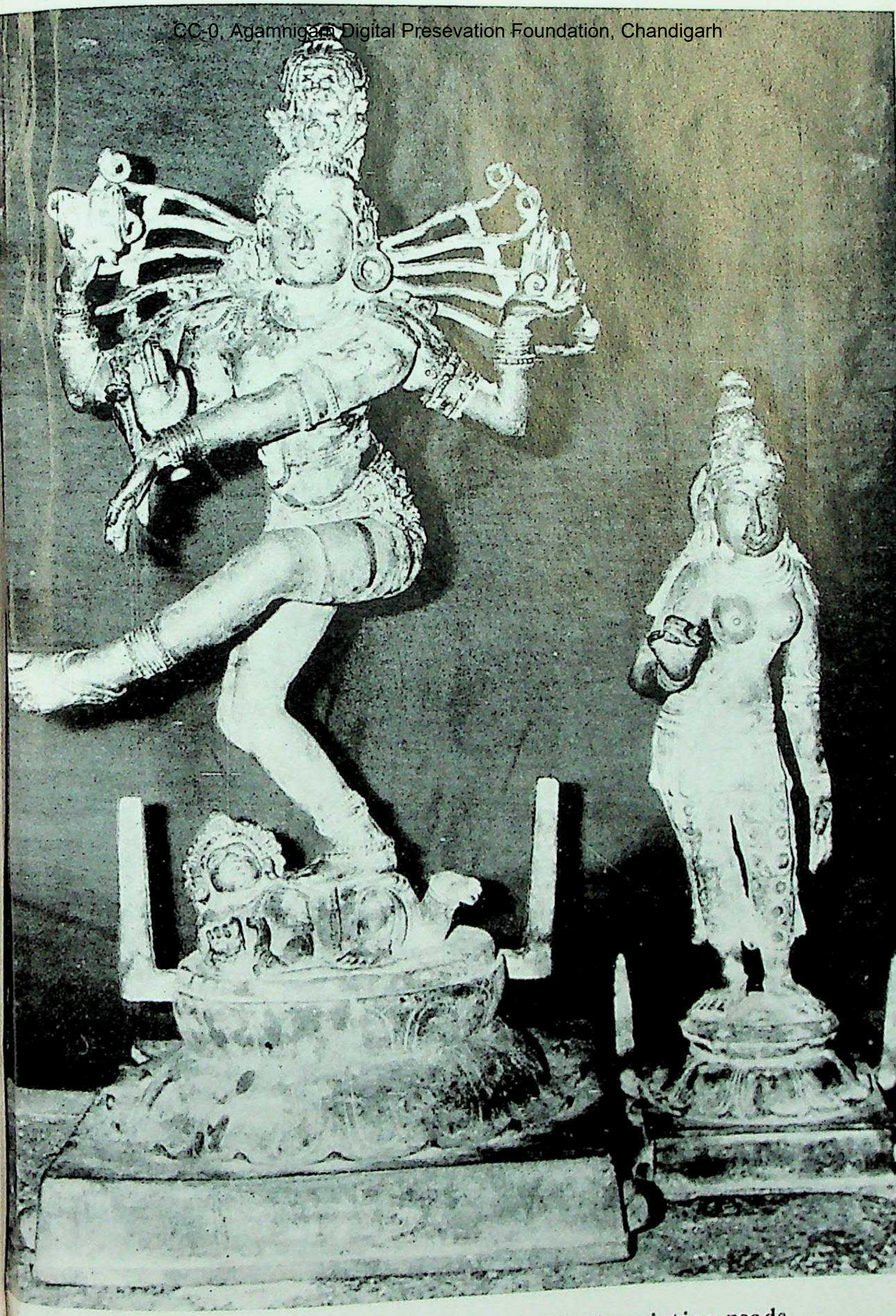
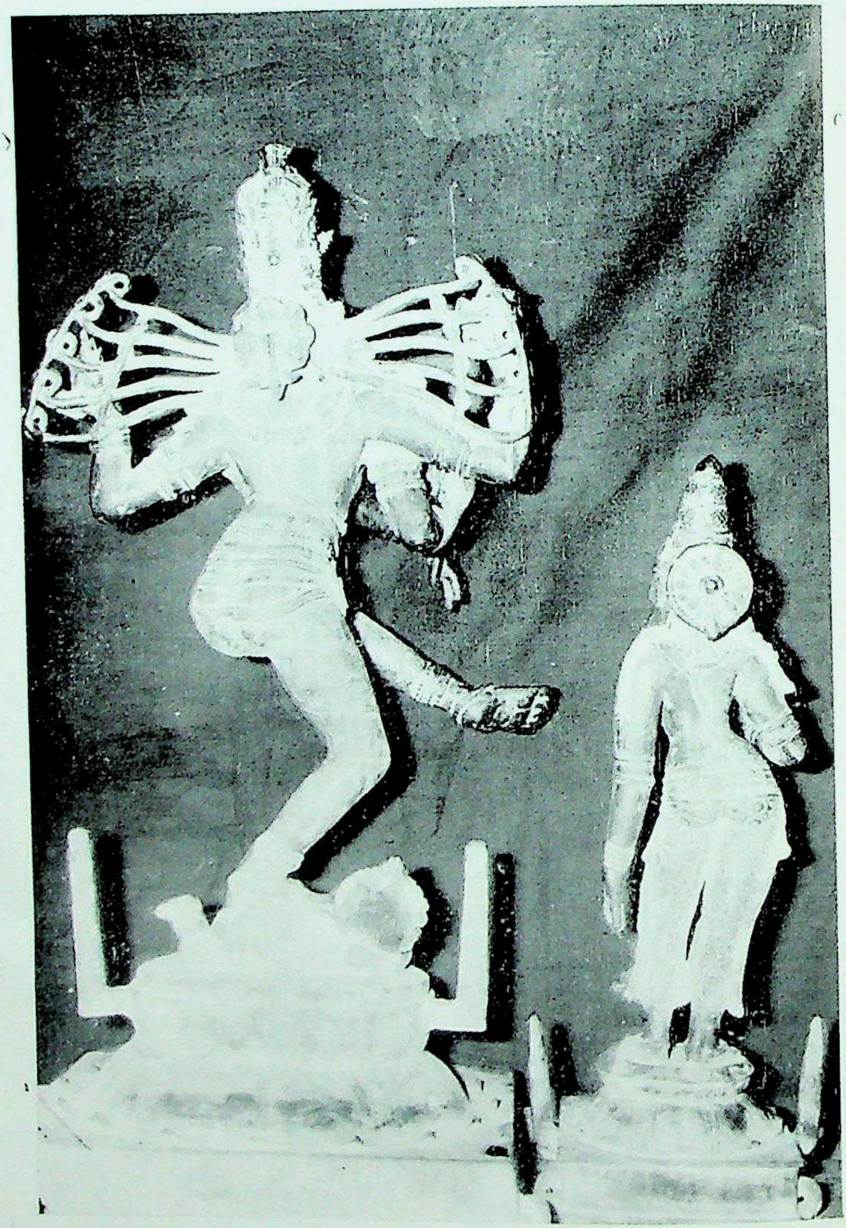
[1] T.A. S. S. I. 1959-60 - pp. 108 - 122.



Inscribed Nataraja-Sivakami-Bronze. The inscription reads
Svasti Sri Desi Abayanidhi yabharana Nayakar-Sri"—Chola, 11th Century A.D.



Back view of the same

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kāram[2] mentions *Sāntikkūttu* and *Ahamārga*. *Sāntikkūttu* consists of 108 *Karanas* expounded by Bharata and is also called *Suddha Nritta*. The, *Ahamārga*, also called *Meykkūttu* is divided into *Desi*, *Vadugu* and *Singalam*, *Desi* standing for local, *Vaḍugu* standing for the northern tradition and and *Singala* standing for Ceylonese tradition. The *Sangita Ratnākara*, distinquishes two *paddhatis*,[3] (1) *Suddha paddhati* also called *mārga* and (2) *Desi paddhati* also called *Gaundali paddhati*. *The Gaundali paddhati* is said to have originated in Karnāta desa.

Gaunḍalyāh mandalam prōktam tadjnaih Karnāṭa dēsajam
Sā dēsi Paddhati iti uktā[4] *(7 - 1277 - 8)*

The Sage, Kohala is said to be a great exponent of *Desi* dance. A work *Dēsi nritta Samudra* is ascribed to Nārada[5] The commentator on *Sangitaratnākara* states that *Desi* dance was not expounded by Bharata.

etēshām Bharatādyanuktadvāt Suddha Karanavad lakshaṇa
niyamah na ādriyate[6]

It is therefore evident that *Desi* is a school of dance, not included in Bharata's tradition. It is significant to note that the form of Naṭarāja, called *Ānanda Tandava* is not one among the *Karana*s expounded by Bharata. The Saivite saints singing the greatnes of the master dancer, say that he performs the dance not known to the exponents of classical dancers.

"அரங்கிடை நூலறிவாளர் அறியப் படாததோர் கூத்து"

This is a clear reference to the non-Bharathan tradition of *Ānanda tāṇḍava*. The word *Desi* found on the pedestal of the Naṭarāja (great dancer) is therefore of immense value and seems to point to the *Desi* nature of the dance.

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[2] The Silappadhikāram Edited by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer - Madras- Commentery.

[3] The Sangíta Ratnakara Vol. IV, Edited by S. Subrahmanya Sastri Adayar - 1953.

[4] Ibid. 7-1277–78.

[5] Ibid. pp. 112.

[6] Ibid. pp. 240.

The second word *abhaya nidhi*, is self explanatory that it stands for the very treasure of protection. Siva Naṭarāja is the greatest protector of the universe, afforded by the *abhaya* hand of the Master, and is rightly called *abhaya nidhi*. The third word, *ābharana* i. e. jewel, is equally significant. Naṭarāja is the jewel among the Gods. This concept seems to have influenced the artist to heavily bedeck the image with jewellery, an unusual feature in early Naṭarāja images. He is really an *ābharana nāyaka*. The Editor.]

Thiruvenkadu village has attained pre-eminence in the history of Indian art, by yielding three groups of treasure trove icons, which include, such master-pieces as Vrsha-Vāhana, Devi, Bhikshātana, Kalyānasundara. Kannappan and other bronzes now housed in the Tanjore art gallery and the superb Ardhanārisvara and Caṇḍikesvara now housed in the Madras Museum. The first group was found in the year which included the Vrshavāhana and Devi, dated with the help of inscription by T.N. Ramachandran:[7] A second group of Bronzes, unearthed as Treasure Trove in the year 1960, included the Ardhanāri, and Candesvara now in the Madras Museum. The Other images, found with them namely the Naṭarāja, Sivakāmi, Somāskanda, a seated Devi and a Bhogasakti, were retained in the temple for worship. A third group consisting of that superlative Kannappan,[8] Subrahmanya with consorts etc. were found and these are now housed in the Tanjore Art Gallery. The second group of Treasure trove bronzes were published by R. Nagaswamy[9] who dated the Ardhanari bronze with the help of the inscriptions. The Naṭarāja now under discussion unearthed with the Ardhanāri, were also assigned to the same period by R. Nagaswamy and the Nataraja was identified with Aḍavallār mentioned in an inscription of Rāja Rāja I, in his 28th year. Kuttanvirāniyar, a queen of the King gifted gold to the image of Āḍavallār for worship[10]:

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[7] Lalit Kala No. 3.

[8] Damilica Vol. II Part II.

[9] T. A. S. S. I. 59-60.

[10] T. A. S. S. I. 1959-60, pp. 119.

T. N. Ramachandran writing earlier before the second group of bronzes were unearthed, identified the big Naṭarāja under worship in the temple with the Ādavallār of the inscription. Douglas Barrett, in his book on Early Chola Bronzes, has not given any date to the small Natarāja unerathed, but held the accompanying Sivakami and the other two bronzes of Devi as later ones.''

Recently an inscription in Tamil characters has been noticed by me on the pedestal of the small Naṭarāja which is of great interest for the dating of the bronzes. The idol, four armed dancing on *muyalaka* is shown on a lotus pedestal over a rectangular pedestal. Naṭarāja resembles all the other Naṭarāja images, in that it carries the *Damaruka* in the right upper arm and fire in the left arm. The fire has a curl at the base a form of conventional representation The head dress is elaborately and minutely worked and is proportionately taller A balance is introduced by showing a flower on the right and a hooded snake on the left of the *jaṭāmakuṭa*. The front jewels on the makuta are tied by a chain of golden flowers at the back. The flowing *jaṭas* on either side-five on each side, are looped at the end. At the back, a *sirascakra* with a pendent hanging from the middle fastens the *jaṭas*. As in other figures the right ear has *makara kuṇḍala* and the left a prominent *patrakuṇḍala*. *Karnapatras* are seen over both the ears, an unusal feature for a figure of this period. No Ganga is present in the *jaṭas*. A snake is shown coiling around the right arm holding *abhaya hasta*. The waist is elaborately decked with jewels but the usual side tassals flying across is absent. An unusal feature is that the image shows comparitively more ornamentation in the neck, arms. waist and legs. The *muyalaka* lying trampled, is looking upto the lifted foot of his master. A seperate *prabha* was inserted into the pedestal but has not been recovered. The image, is 68 cm. in height including the pedestal but without it 53 cm.

The inscription of great interest, is found on the plain face of the *Bhadrapita*. It reads *SwastiSriDesiAbaya nidhi yābharana nāyakar. Sri*. The writing in Tamil in two lines is in

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11. Early Chola Bronzes, Bombay - 1965, pp. 20.

characters of 10-11th A. D. and bear close resemblence to the inscriptions of Rājarāja. They cannot be dated later than Rājarāja I. The inscription means that this is "Lord, *Abhayanidhiyābharana*."

The accompanying figure of Sivakāmi, 48 cm. in height including the pedestal (31cm. without the pedestal) is also shown in exactly the same type of pedestal- a lotus pedestal over a plain *bhadra pītha*. Though it is somewhat heavy and lacks the elegane noticed in the Umadevi figure, the consort of Vrsha vāhana of Tanjore, it closely resembles the accompanying Nataraja bronze and does not seem to be far removed from it in point of time.

Dated Pandia Sculptures from Kilmattur

M. Chandramurthy

The Tamilnadu State Archaeology Department has recently collected 12 stone sculptures from Kilmattur village near Madurai. The sculptures were acquired for Thirumalai Nayak Mahal Museum, Madurai.

Kilmattur village lies about 15 KMs. from Madurai. The sculptures were found in the enclosure of the Manikantesvara temple in that village. From inscriptions copied from this temple, in 1926[1] by the Government Epigraphist, it is seen that a Siva temple named Sri Kanṭēsvara was erected in stone in that village by Tennavan Tamilavel alias Kantan Sāttan, a Minister to Virapāndya, who took the head of Chola. This temple would have furnished valuable clue to us in determining the Pāndya architecture, had it not been demolished and rebuilt completely changing the ancient character. Even the inscriptions copied in 1926 have been irretrievably lost. An analysis of this inscription on the temple appears as a separate article in this issue[2]. Thanks to the State Archaeological Department, it was possible to retrieve at least these valuable sculptures. Two of the Dvarapalas, belonging to the original temple are now in the temple placed in their appropriate niches. All the sculptures belonged to the temple erected by Tennavan Tamilavel. The following are the sculptures :

Vishnu

A standing image of Vishnu over *Padma pitha* holding *padma* and *sankha* on the upper hands. The front right arm probably in the *abhaya* posture is broken and the left hand rests on the mace. The point of interest in this sculpture is that in stead of holding a *chakra* in the upper right hand, it holds a lotus flower (*padma*),

Durga

Durga standing over *padma pitha* with four arms carrying *chakra* and *sankha* on the upper hands and the fore arms being in the *varada* and *katyavalambita hasta* posture. the flowing lower garment up to the heel with the tassels prominently hanging loose. The execution of the image and its broad hip is excellent and the plain and simple lower garment are pleasing

Dvarapala

Two standing Dvarapalas with two arms on either side *garbhagriha* of remarkable beauty. assignable to the same period, are now preserved in the same *Manikaṇtesvara* temple at Kilmattur. One of the Dvarapala is sculptured as holding a flower and the other arm resting on the mace.

Virabadra

The four armed Siva as Virabadra seated on the round pedestal with his left leg folded and right leg hanging. Instead of battle-axe and antelope, the usual attributes of Virabadra, here we fiind *vajra* and axe, while the lower arms are in the *abhaya* and *varada* postures.

Brahmi

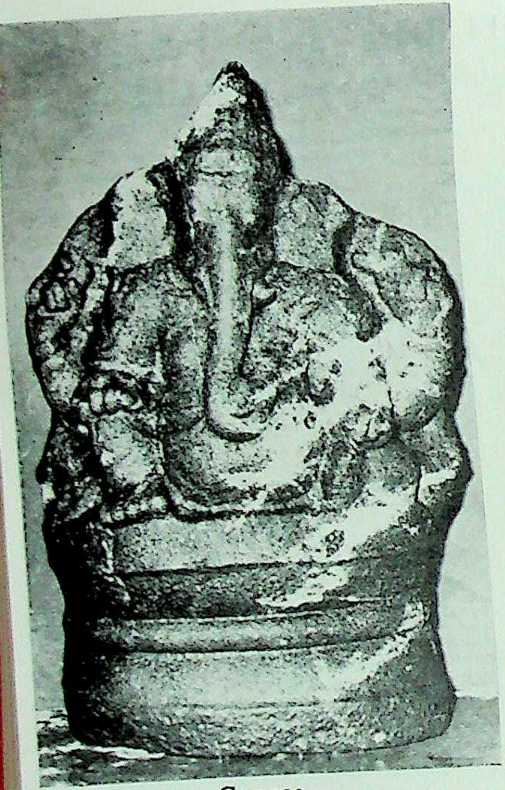
Brahmi seated with four arms holding *akshamala* (not clearly visible) and *Kamandalu* on the upper arms and front right arm in the *abhaya mudra* and the left arms resting on the thigh. The *jatamakuta* of Mahesvara, Maheswari and Brahmi are treated in identical fashion.

Maheswari

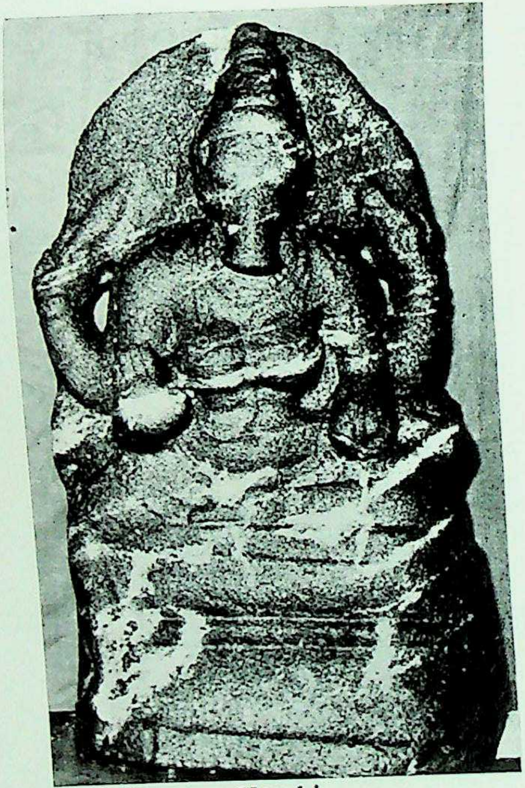
Maheswari with the folded left leg resting on the *pitha* and the right leg hanging down, a common feature among the saptamātrika group. Like Maheswara here we find the upper hand holding *vajra* and battle axe (*parasu*) and the lower arms being in the *abhaya* and *varada mudras*.

Vaishnavi

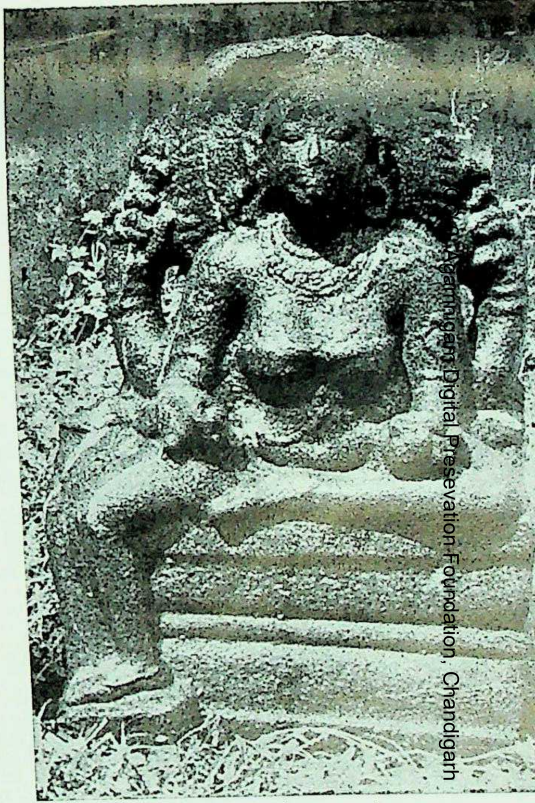
An excellent sculpture of *Vaishnavi* seated with her left leg folded and right leg pendant, with four arms holding *chakra*



Ganesa

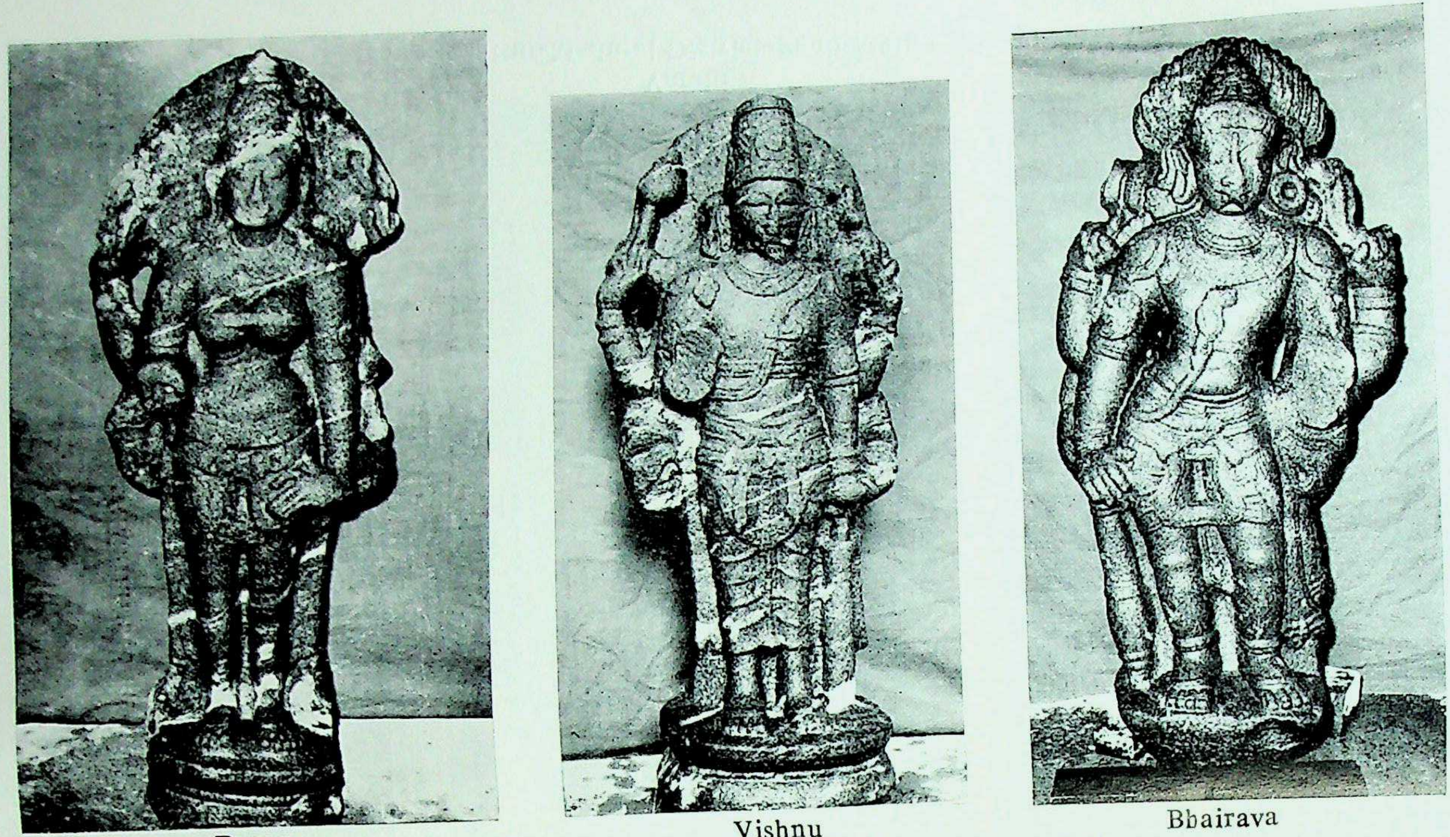


Varahi



Chamunda

Kilmattur-Madurai District-Pandya-9th Century.



Durga

Vishnu

Bhairava

Kilmattur-Madurai District- Pandya-9th Century A D.

and *sankha* on the upper hands and in the *a bhaya* and *simha-karna* poses in the lower arms. A simple *kirita makuta* adorns the head, Vaishnavi wears a *kuchabandha* and a thick *yajnobhavita* running over it.

Kaumari

This charming sculpture of seated Kaumari having four arms, the upper arms holding *kamandalu* and *akshamala* and the lower left arm holding a palm-leaf manuscript in *a pustaka-hasta* posture is a rare phenomenon. A conical *karanda makuta*, round *patraundala, kucabandha, channavira* and the absence of *kanni-mala* are the other distinguishing characteristics. The lower right arm purported to be in the *abhaya* pose is broken. Unlike the usual pattern of representing *Kaumari* with *sakti* and *vajra* attributes and *kannimala*, the characterisation of bearing *kamandalu* and *akshamala* and palm leaf, the attributes of *Brahma* and *Brahmi* is a distrinct departure. The identification of the sculpture as Kaumari is the resultant of the presentation of *Karanda makuta*, *patra-kundala* and *channavira* and *vajrea* It is interesting to note that an early Pandya *Indrani* from Tiruvedagam near Kilmattur, having *vajra* and *a ksamala* as

Indrani

Four armed seated Indrani with the upper arms bearing *vajra* and *sakti* and the lower ones in *abhaya* and *simha karna* posture. A high *krita-makuta* adorns the head: Instead of the usual attributes *vajra* and *ankusa*, here we have *vajra* and *sakti* the latter being usual attributes of *Kaumari*. The identification of this sculpture as *Indrani* is deduced from the presentation of *Kiritamakuta*.

Varahi

Four armed seated *Vārāhi* on *padma-pitha* with the attributes goad (*ankusa*) and noose (*pasa*) instead of wheel (*chakra*) and conch (*Sankha*), lower right arm in the *abhaya-mudra* and left resting on the thigh, with its head sculptured looking further down.

In comparison there stands out the Vārāhi sculpture from Tiruvedagam with the usual disc (*chakra*) and conch (*sankha*) attributes contempraneous with Kilmattur Varāhi.

Chamunda

Among the Kilmattur Saptamata sculptures the most exquisitely carved figure is Chāmunda. The figure seated with the folded left leg placed on the seat and right leg hanging down has four arms, the back ones carrying trisula and bell, and the lower ones in *suchi* and *kapālahastas*. A snake entwines the lower right arm. The *jabhara* flowṭāing wide have curls at the ends. A *nāga-kuchabandha* over the breast and a thin row of *kapala mala*, running over the chest are other features.

Ganesa

Four armed Ganesa seated on round pedestal. He is a *Idampuri Ganesa* and the trunk curling to left, carrying a sweet-ball (*modaka)*. The upper right arm is holding the broken tusk *(danda*) and the left ones holds a elephant-goad (*ankusa)*. And the lower right arm carrying a *modaka*, a kind of sweet meat, and the lower left rests on the thigh. The flat, three strand sacred thread runs over the chest and a tape like abdominal band runs (*udarabandha*) over the belly. The belly is shown pronouncedly. And the sharp edged *karanda-makuta* adorns the head. His left leg folded and the right one is bent perpendicularly on *pitha*.

The study of anatomy, modelling, poise and attributes of this figure closely recalls the early Pāndya Ganesa at Kattikulam in Sivanganga Taluk, Ramanathapuram District,

Bhairava

Bhairava standing with four arms holding *damaru* and snake on the upper hands, while the lower right arm resting on the mace and the left arm probably holding a *Kapala* is broken The head is adorned with *jwālamakuta*. His face expresses fierce the body *upavita* and the lower garment up to thigh The lower right arms resting on the mace and an absence of the canine vehicle characterise this Bhairava on stylistic ground can be assigned to little later period than the saptamata group and closely connected with Bhairava of Tiruvedagam.

The Sculptures seem to have adorned the Devakoshtas. Dakshinamurthi, Vishṇu and Durga should be considered coeval with the period of the temple and should be assigned to the end of 9th Century A. D. The Saptāmatas probably were the *Parivāradevatas* of the original temple and belong to the same period.

The Bhairava sculpture seems to be little later, assignable to the 11th Century A. D. on stlylistic grounds.

A word however must be said regarding selection of stone for carving the images. The Pandya artist seems to be not well versed in selection of stones, for the sculptures show white patches in between. These granite stones with white veins seem to have been brought from Nagamalai hill, near Madurai.

Mention has been made earlier of the emblems held by the deities, some of which are unusual. It is not known whether this type of representation is confined to Pandya region alone or they were made according to the Agamic dictates. These need further studies.

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1. S. I. I. Vol. XIV. No. 84, 86, 87.

2 See the arlicle "New light on Pallava Pandya Art links" by Dr. R. Nagaswamy in the folowing Pages.

New Light on Pallava Pandya Art Links

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

Four inscriptions copied from the temple of Manikantesvar at Kilmatthur, published as Nos. 84, 85, 86, and 87 in South Indian Inscriptions Volume XIV are of historical interest.[1] They are dated in the reign of Virapāndya, who took the head of Chola. The inscriptions are of vital interest, to the dating of sculptures of Kilmattur. They record the construction of a stone temple, Sri Kaṇṭēśvara, dedicated to Siva by one Kaṇṭan Sāttan. The temple was erected in the 9th regnal year of Vīra Paṇḍya.

> "இவ்வாண்டு திருமாத்தூர் படாரர்க்கு
> ஸ்ரீகண்டேஸ்வரமென்று திருக்கற்றளி எடுத்து"[2]

The sculptures of Kilmattur obviously belong to the stone temple *Karrali*.

The Chieftain Kaṇṭan Sāttaṉ who constructed the temple had the title Teṉṉavaṉ Tamiḻavēḷ, The records of Kīl Mattur deal with details of expenditure sanctioned by the chieftain and the elaborate rites and festivals arranged by him The editor of this inscription has rightly pointed out that "the fact that the old dēvadāna lands were checked in the time of Vīra Pāṇḍya, indicates that the temple had existed from earlier times, probably as a brick structure and that it was now rebuilt of stone by this chieftain with the new name Śrī Kaṇṭēśvaram".[3] is fully borne out by the text.

> "தென்னவன் தமிழ வேளாயின கண்டன் சாத்தன் இத்தேவர்க்கு
> ஸ்ரீ கார்யம் ஆராயா நின்று இத்தேவர் பழம் தேவதானம்
> இருந்தையூர் ஊர்படும் நீர் நிலன்"[4]

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[1] See the article "Dated Pandya sculpture from Kilmattur'. by M. Chandramurty appearing earlier in this book.

[2] S. I. I. Vol. No. 84

[3] Ibid Introductory Notes

The editor holds that Kaṇṭa, was the name of the chieftain and so the temple was named Śrīkaṇṭēśvaram. However, it was customary in those days to bear father's name first and as such Kaṇṭa was the name of his father of the chieftain and that his own name was Sāṭṭaṉ and mentioned as Kaṇṭaṉ Sāttaṉ The temple was built in the name of his father.

A dēvatāna land belonging to this temple was situated in Irundaiyur and the same brought under cultivation under a new name '*Cholāntakan*. This was given for worship as *arcanā-bhōgam.*[5] The dry land of this temple, was entrusted to uvaccan Palluvan Puvanavan, of the temple who was expected to appoint six persons daily to perform *Uvaccappani* (beating drums during offerings). Another part of inscription refers to the provisions made for burning perpetual lamps in the temple for which goats were gifted in the hands of number of sheperds.[6] The greater part of the inscriptions[7] relates to the provisions of offerings which included, *Amudu, annabali*, Sandal, *betal leaves* arecanuts, ghee, curd, *kungiliya* for incense, etc. Provisions were also made for feeding five brahmins, while the sacred food was offered to the deity. Provisions were also made for two priests (*aḍigaḷmār*). Paddy was measured by *Kalam*, and the coins deposited were called *Pon manarpāri Iḷakkāsu.*[7] A special festival was arranged during *Panguni Uttiram*. There are other points of interest which deserve mention. The cultivated land was called *Cholāntakan cey*[8] and the Nandavanam was called *Śrī Kanṭaṉ.*[9] The liquid measure of the temple was also called *Śrīkaṇṭa.*[10] The names of the flower garden and the measure as '*Srikaṇṭa*' show that the chieftain has given the name. The name of the land *Cholāntankan*, was probably a title assumed by the ruler Vīra Pāṇḍya, as suggested by the Editor of the inscription.

This bring us to an important point namely the identification of Vīrapāṇḍya. A few inscriptions found in the region deserve special study in this respect. A certain Chōḷāntak

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[4] Ibid No. 84
[5] Ibid No, 85
[6] Ibid No. 85
[7] Ibid No 86
[8] Ibid No. 85
[9] Ibid No. 85
[10] Ibid No. 84

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Pallavaraiyaṉ alias Māṟan Ādittaṉ figures in an inscription "of Pallimāḍam, in Aruppukottai taluk. He donated a perpetual lamp to the temple of Sundarapāṇḍya Iśvaram at Tiruchuliyal in the 7th year of Vīrapāṇḍya, who took the head of Chola.[11] Obviously this Māṟaṉ Ādiccaṉ and Kaṇṭaṉ Sāttaṉ of Kilmāttur were contemporaries and served under the same ruler. The title Chōḻāntakappallavaraiyaṉ shows, he received the title from the ruler. The Sundara Pāṇḍya Isvaram of Paḻḻimādam was a Paḻḻippaḍai (a sepulchral monument) erected obviously at the death of Sundarapāṇḍya. The measure of the temple was also called '*Chōḻāntakaṉ*'[12], Another fragmentary inscription in the same place refers to one Chōḻāntaka Brahmamārāyaṉ[13] (whose name was Nārāyaṇaṉ Mādhavaṉ). This Chōḻāntaka Brahmamārayaṉ appears as an *adhikāri* (Officer) of Vira Pāṇḍya, at Ambasamudram[14] Thus the Vīrapāṇḍya figuring in the records of Paḻḻimādam, Kilmāttūr and Ambasamudram is one and the same ruler, who assumed the title Choḻāntakaṉ. The Ambasamudram record shows that the stone temple then was erected by one Mānābharaṇa, an architect. Thus the three temples at Pallimādam, Kilmattūr and Ambasamudram belong to the same period. The name of the ruler Vīrapāṇḍya is mentioned as Chōḻāntakadēvar.

The Choḻāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ alias Māṟaṉ Ādiccaṉ of Poḻiyūr, who donated to the temple of Sundarapāṇḍya Isvaram is identical with Māṟaṉ Ādiccaṉ, who made gifts to the thiruttalinātha temple at Thiruppāttūr.[15] In the sanskrit portion of the Tiruppāttūr record his name is given as Māṟan Ādittaṉ of Poḻiyūr and in the Tamil portion he is called Māṟaṉ Āccaṉ of Poḻiyūr. In both the records he bore the tittle Pallavaraiyaṉ. This inscription is dated in the 5th regnal year of Saḍaiyaṉ Māṟaṉ. Herein the full title of the chieftain is given as Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavaraiyaṉ alias Māṟaṉ Ādittaṉ of Poḻiyur. In the Pallimadam record, he is called Chōḻāntaka Pallaaaryiyaṉ alias Māṟaṉ Ādittaṉ of Poḻiyūr. Obviously the Teṉṉavaṉ Pallavaraiyaṉ has been changed into Chōḻāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ after the conquest of Chola by Vīrapāṇḍya, This Teṉṉavaṉ

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[11] Ibid No. 88
[12] Ibid No. 88
[13] Ibld No. 79 Foot Notes
[14] Ibid No 95
[15] Ibid No. 5

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Pallavaraiyaṉ alias Māṟaṉ Ādiccaṉ, also gifted a lamp to the Siva temple of Kuttālam, in 5th year of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[16]. Since this Māraňjaḍaiyaṉ is identified with Varaguṇa II, who ascended the throne in 869 A.D., and as Māṟaṉ Āccaṉ figures in the reign of Varaguṇa II and Vira-Pāṇḍya, Virapāṇḍya should have lived in the closing years of 9th Century and not in the second half of 10th Century as held by some scholars.[17]

This brings us to another important question namely the date of Koḍumbāḷūr chieftain Bhūti alias Vikramakēśari. Bhūti, defeated a Vīrapāṇḍya, who is identified with Vīrapāṇḍya who was killed by Aditta Chōḻa II, in the reign of Sundara Chōḻa. (S. R. Balasubramaniam and K. A. Nilakanta Sastri). We should now concede two Vīrapāṇḍyas, one who lived at the end of 9th century and the early Part of 10th Century A. D. and the other in the later half of 10th Century A. D. This would also suggest that the Koḍumbāḷūr Mūvarkōil built by Bhūti Vikramakēśari would have to be assigned to the end of the 9th Century A. D. and not to the second half of the 10th century A. D.

The Chieftain Teṉṉavaṉ Tamiḻavēḷ, alias Kaṇṭaṉ Sāttaṉ. who built the Śrī Kaṇṭēśvaram at Kilmāttur is called an *Amaicca* (minister to the ruler). He was an illustrious scholar, both Sanskrit and in Tamil. In Sanskrit, he was proficient in Vedas, the *shad darsanas*, *Nithi sāstras Purāṇas*, and *Pātanjalam* (probably *yôga*) and in Tamil he was adept in (*Iyal*, *Isai* and *Nāṭaka*) the three Tamils.[18] His ancestors are said to have come from Kanchipuram and hence his title Pallavaraiyan.

கச்சி மூதூர் காமக்கிழவோர் படுவன் கீர்த்தி மரபுளோன்

The other chieftain Māṟaṉ Āccaṉ, who was the donor at Thiruppattur, Pallimadam, Ambasamudram and Kuttālam was also a Pallavaraiyaṉ. Evidently there has been considerable migration of talents from the Pallava country to Pāṇḍya country in 8th and 9th century A. D. and these chieftains were responsible to a great extent for building activity in Pāṇḍya region, throws more avenue for further research.

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[16] Ibid No. 4

[17] Early chola Tamples - S. R. Balasubramanyam

[18] S. I. I. Vol XIV No. 87.

An early Vijayanagar Painting

Chitra Viji

The early Tiruparuttikunram paintings of the 14th century require an examination, as the age of this fragmentary painting has not been clearly established.

Sri. T.N. Ramachandran in his book 'Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples discusses in great detail the Jain Paintings that are portrayed in the Sangita Mantapa of the Vardhamāna temple, that are modern and his dating of a late 18th Century school to this group is acceptable. On the fragmentary paintings Ramachandran although mentioning the fact that they have the delicate colouring of Sittannavasal assigns to these a date of 17th century. Now that a great deal more paintings in South Indian temples have come to light since then, a clearer picture emerges on the development of the various painting schools, specially covering the transition period between the Chola-Vijayanagara eras to which the fragmentary Tiruparuttikunram paintings clearly belong and can be dated to the 14th century.

The Tiruparuttikunram fragmentary paintings is the key link between the delicate Chola art which had started to lose its vitality in sculpture. painting and architecture and the beginning of a florid and more widespread and popular Vijayanagara art renaissance. These fragmentary paintings are on the Sangita Mantapa which was built in the time of Irugappa, the minister of Bukka Raya II in Prabhava, i.e. 1387-88 and are contemporaneous to the structure and is, therefore, datable to the 14th century. These paintings are evidently the earliest Vijayanagara paintings reflect the Southern school. specifically the late Chola before this school of painting in the Kanchipuram and other southern areas became muted into an imitative and stultified art form.

The delineation of the eyes, the nose and the mouth reflect the manner in which sculpture and bronzes of the 14th century

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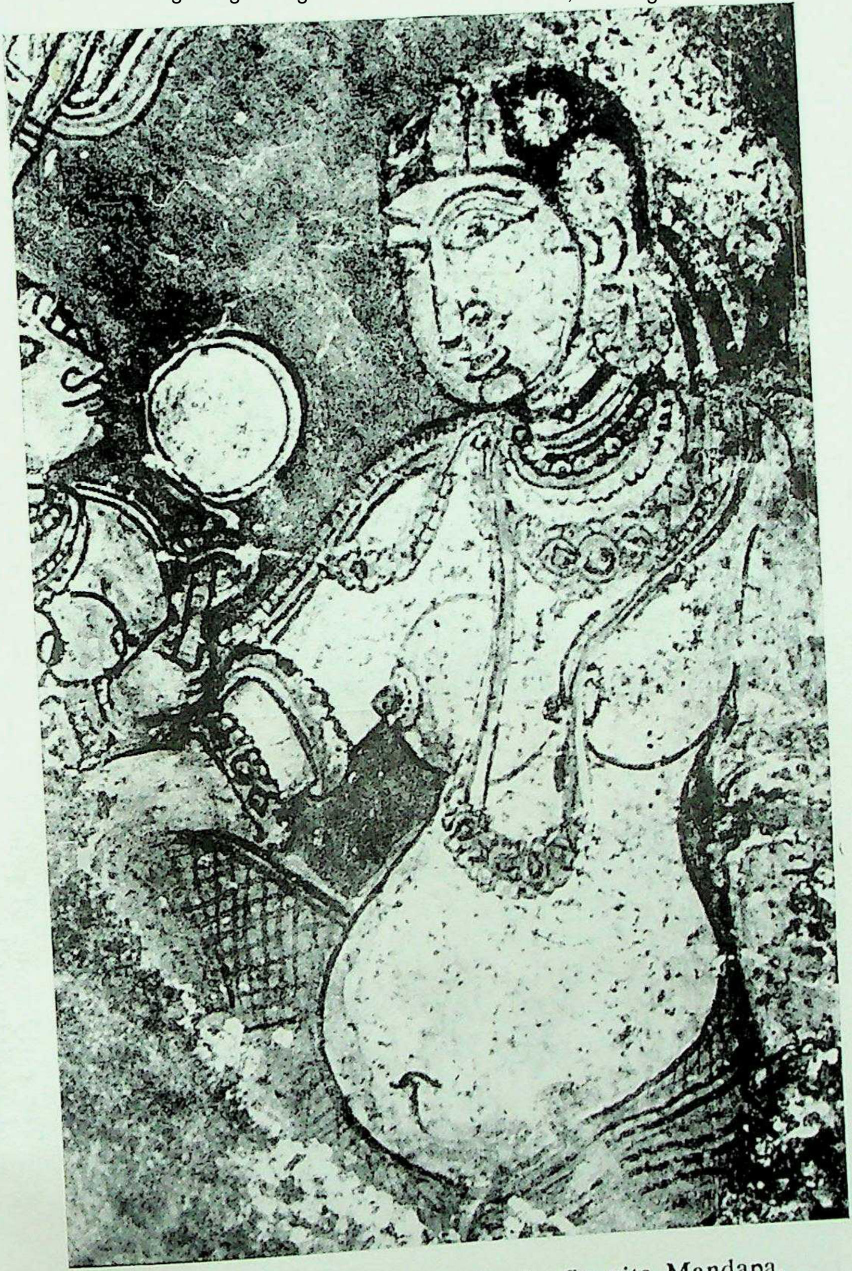
were executed. There is not the continuous natural line flow of the true Chola, yet there is no vacuousness that is so predominant in the later paintings. The ornamentation is as elegant as in later Chola, and not too profuse and leaning to heaviness as in later Vijayanagara time and neither is the kirita massive and long but medium sized and well-fitting. There is yet some grace and delicacy in these paintings that endows them with vibrance and these seem to be gradually lost after the 16th century. Also the three quarter profile, the natural stance, the positioning of the feet, the drawing of the fingers. the slender waisted figures, help us to trace how gradual the transition was between the Chola and Vijayanagara period in Tamilnadu. These paintings clearly indicate that the Chola influence in art was still strong while the Vijayanagara's imperial strength was yet to develop and be felt to dislodge the Chola art tradition. At Tiruparuttikunram these fragmentary paintings exhibit the vitality of art tradition and its regional survival under the now emerging Telugu power.

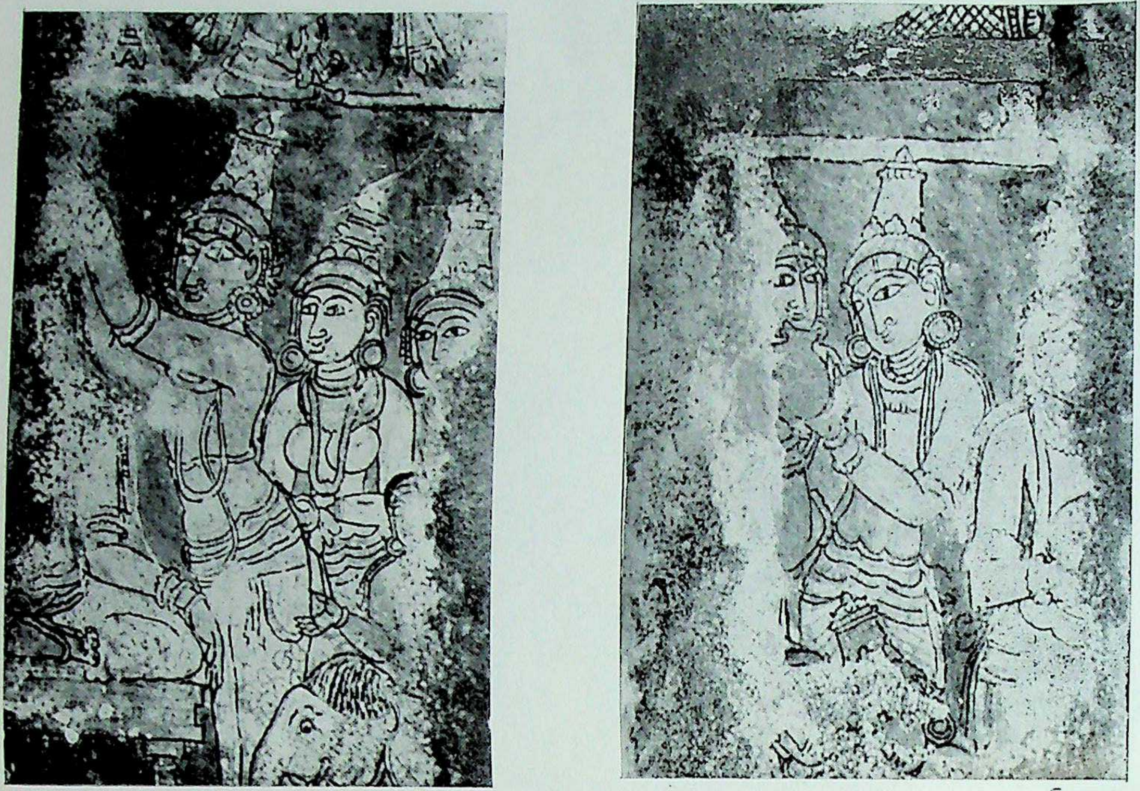
Though the earliest inscription in the temple goes to the period of the Chola ruler, Kulottunga I, (12th century), the nearby Chandraprabha temple carries inscription of Rajendra I attesting to the imperial Chola activity in this region. Kulottunga, Vikrama, Kulottunga II and even Raja Raja III, the last of the Cholas are represented in the temple by their inscriptions. The continued Chola patronage to the temple till the middle of 13th century A.D., followed by the building activity of the Pallava Chieftain Kopperunjinga in the later half of 13th century, are witnesses to the continuing art traditions in the temple. The immediate next architectural work is that of Irugappa, the builder of this Sangita Mantapa.

The idea of a Sangita Mantapa or a Chitramandapa is to create an easel for artists to exhibit their creativity and skill and also for musicians to have a dais to perform and establish their virtuosity in music. These mantapas were the art and cultural centres of temples and were throbbing with activity that enhanced the atmosphere within the precincts of these temples. The patronage extended were usually substantial and epigraphical records on such mantapas speak volume on the generosity shown to art and artists.

Unlike fragmentary epigraphical records that make the work of writing chronological history possible, the discovery of fragmentary murals help to a greater level in deducing the development of mural art in India. The line form, the colouring and the ease of depiction indicates that this group of paintings belong to the end scale of the Pallava-Chola painting tradition. There is so much to admire and appreciate in this tiny fragment that the rest of the very late paintings on the ceiling seem like comic strip sketches. One marvels at the foresight of the people who have recognised the timbre of those master artists and have left this art pristine and without overpainting as had been done in certain other temples.



A lady, an early painting in the Sangita Mandapa, early Vijayanagar, 14th Century A. D.



The early group of paintings in the Sangita Mandapa of Trailokyanatha temple, Thirupparuthikunram, Early Vijayanagar, 14th Century A. D.

God's Inscriptions

N. Sethuraman

The Great Kings of our country built many temples. Their inscriptions engraved on the walls of the temples furnish us not only the valuable information about the history of our land but also the true character of the kings who were second to none in devotion. King Raja Raja I (915-1015) called himself *Sivapāda Sekara* which means that he wears on his head the sacred feet of Lord Siva. In his Thillaiyadi[1] and Thiruvarur[2] inscriptions, Kulottunga II (1133-50) says that he is ruling on the earth with the blessings of Lord Siva '*Sivanarul Petru*'). In the inscriptions of Thiruppugalur[3] and Thiruvalangadu,[4] Kulottunga III (1178-1218) says that the blessings of Lord Siva enable him to rule the land '*Thirukkailai Sivanarulāl*').

Kulottunga III conquered the Pāṇḍyas and performed the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Madura. After this victory he arranged for the festival of procession for Lord Siva and Goddess Minakshi. Like a common man he stood in the main street[5] of Madura and worshipped the God and the Goddess. He demonstrated that, even though he was a victorious king, before God he was an ordinary man-just another one in the millions. What a contrast! The triumphant king establishes his success by way of anointment of victors in the enemy's palace. But as a pious devotee, he stands in the middle of the street mingling with the huge crowd and worships the Lord like a common citizen. Such was the greatness of our kings.

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[1] 232-1925

[2] S. I. I. XVII

[3] 93-1928

[4] 83-1926

[5] திருவீதியில் நின்று சேவித்து Prasasthi of Pd 163 and 166.

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The king donates money or grants land to the temple. He records the details on the stone walls of the temples. Somtimes his devotion towards the Lord makes him to forget himself. He causes the inscription to be made as if it is engraved by God Himself. In the record God orders the king to grant land or gifts to the temple and king does so. In other words the records are God's inscription.

Thiruvarur-Thyagarajaswami Temple

Inscription No. S. I. I. XVII 593 is found on the west wall of the first prakara of the temple. The record states that the deity, Lord *Vithi viṭanka* (Lord Shiva) was present in the *Devasriyan Mantapa*. The Lord was pleased to witness the dance performance by Pungoil Nāyaka Thalaikkoli. Then the granted lands in Vayalur to one Pungoil Nambi[6] who composed *Virānukka Vijayam* in honour of Virasola Anukkar. In the record the Lord mentions Pungoil Nambi as 'Our son'. The grant was made by the Lord in the 13th year of the king (?) at the instance of Thyagavinoda Kadigai Mārāyan, The inscription belongs to a Chola King of the 12th century. Unfortunately the name of the king is not given. Probably it belongs to that king who had the surname Thyāga Vinoda.[7] On the same wall there is another inscription[8] which belongs to Kulottunga III, year 13. It states that Lord Vithivitanga was taken out in procesion on the occasion of *Pusam* festival in the month of Thai[9]. The Maheswaras of the temple requested one Vira Vichādira Pallavarayan to grant some lands for the maintenance of the Vināyaka temple built by Pallavarayan himself. Pallavarayan gifted some lands for the Vināyaka temple and they were entrusted to the care of the Maheswaras. The Lord Vithi vitanga is stated to have blessed and approved this arrangement made for the temple of the Lord's son Vināyaka[10]. The Lord was much pleased because the grant was made for the benefit of His son!

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[6] A poet

[7] Probably Vikrama Chola since a Mutt by name 'Thyagavinoda Salai' appears in the third year record of Vikrama Chola S. I. I. XVII 607

[8] S. I. I. XVII 595

[9] Corresponds to 12th January 1191

[10] Vinayaka is the son of Lord Siva

On the north wall of the same *prākāra* there is another inscription[11] which belongs to Kulottunga III, year 24 (1202 A. D) The entire record is stated to be the order of the deity, the Lord of Thiruvarur (Lord Siva). The record states that 100 Āndārs (servants) serving the temple failed to distribute among themselves properly the lands previously allotted to them and quarrelling left their lands uncultivated. Vira Rājendra Pallavarāyan and Muthu Sivigai Petrān reported the matter to the God. Thereupon God ordered for the distribution of lands to the said Aṇḍārs. In the record the Lord says that "this order is to take effect from the 24th year of My Friend Thribuvana Viran". The Lord says that Kulottunga is His Friend[12]. This reminds us of the story of Sundaramoorthy Nāyanar whom Lord Siva called as 'My Friend.'

The inscription[13] on the south wall of the second prākara belongs to Kulottunga I year 49 (1119 A. D.) It states that the deity was seated in the hall Devāsriyan. He was much pleased to witness the dance performance by the girl Pukkaturai Vallava-thalaikkoli. The Lord was happy and ordered to...... Unfortunately the rest of the portion is incomplete and the details are lost.

Thirukkannapuram

This is a small village in Tanjore District The Sowriraja Perumal temple of this village which was in brick structure was converted into a stone temple by Kulottunga I (1070-1122). On the west wall of the first prākāra there is an inscription[14] which belongs to Raja Raja II year 14 (1160). This is the order of the deity Savuripperumal (Lord Vishnu). The record states that the deity was present with his consorts on the seat 'Nambikalyan' under the canopy of pearls called 'Rāvanāntakat in the Nirāvi Mandapa. It was the fifth day of the marriage festival in the month of Chaitra. The Lord listened to the

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[11] S. I. I. XVII 599

[12] நம் தோழன் திரிபுவன விரனுக்கு யாண்டு இருபத்து நாலாவது முதல் Usually Kulottunga is called Thribhuvana Vira Deva. Since he is mentioned by God, the word 'Deva' is omitted and he is mentioned as Thribhuvant Viran only.

[13] S. I. I. XVII 606

[14] 593/1922

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hymns of 'Saṭagopa'[15]. The Lord was much pleased. He issued orders related to the lease of lands in the streets for building shops and houses thereon, to certain merchants with stipulation that they should pay to the temple certain cesses on their goods.

Srivaikuntham Tirunelveli District

Inscription No. 343 of 1960-61 belongs to some Pāṇḍya King. It records the order of the Lord Kallapiran (God Vishnu). The deity was seated on the throne Sundara Pāṇḍyan[16]. One Adityavarman (whom the God calls as His son) requested the Lord to make some grants to one Nachiyar daughter of Vaikuntham, an Adiyar (servant) in the temple. As per his request Lord Vishnu allotted three nāli of prasādams to the lady.

The above records were really made by the kings. But they are presented in such a way as if they are the orders of God. Therefore we may not be far wrong if we call them as God's inscriptions!

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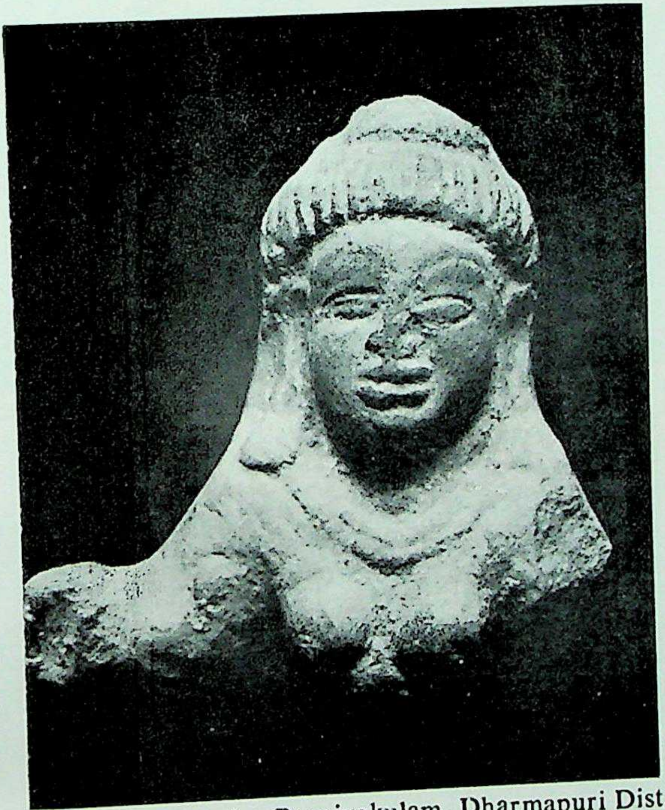
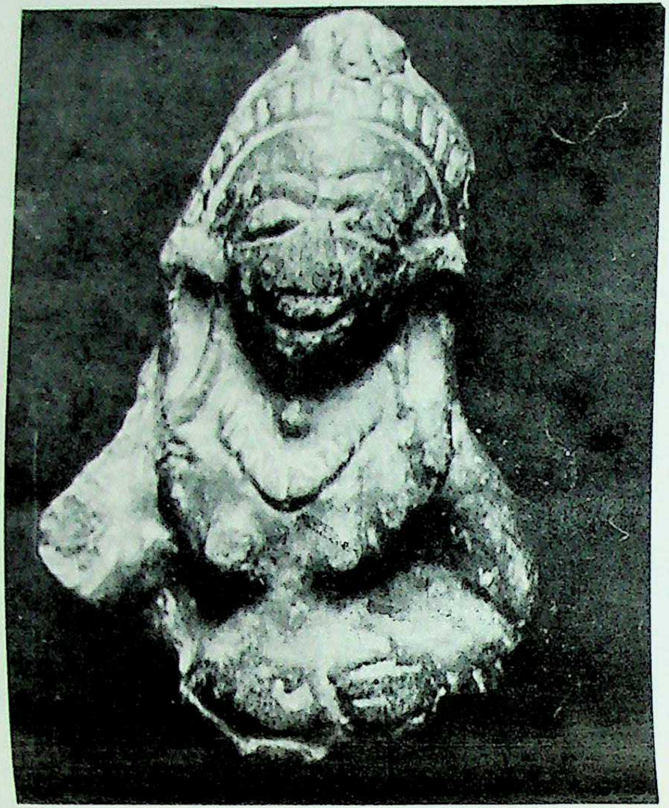
[15] Hymns composed by Nammalvar

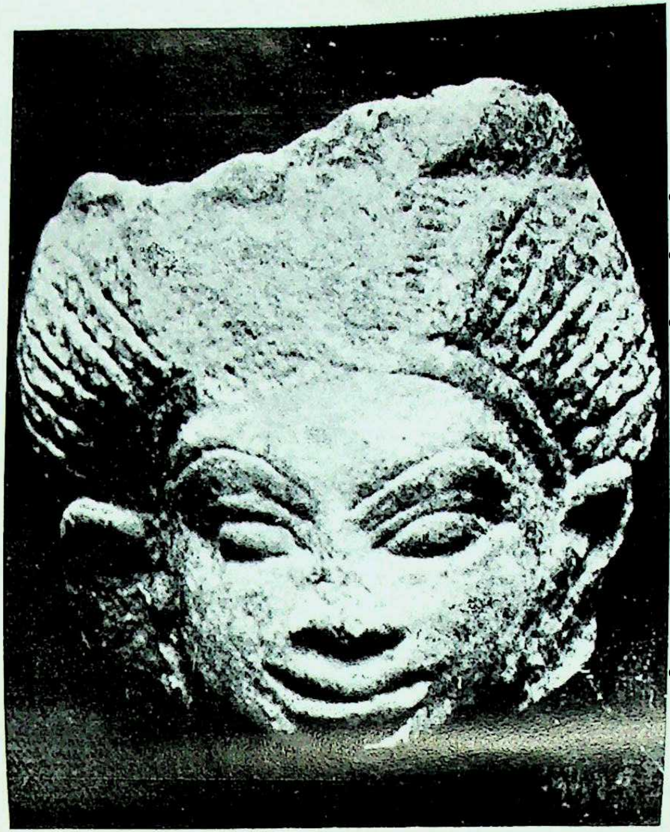
[16] Perhaps the second belongs to Somç Sundara Pandya. The report assigns the record to 15th century.



Terracotta figurine Panaiyakulam, Dharmapuri Dist.
Probably 7th Century A.D.



Terracotta female figure, Panaiyakulam,
Dharmapuri Dist. Probably 2nd Century A.D.



Terracotta head from Kolahattur, Dharmapuri Dist.

Historic Terracottas from Dharmapuri

R. Poongunran

Four early Terracottas have Been found from two sites in Dharmapuri District recently by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. The terracottas assignable to 8th Century A. D. portray female figures and are representative of early art of the reigion, One group comes from Kulagattur village in Dharmapuri Taluk and were recovered about 5′ below a mound now called Thamukkamedu. The elevated mound seems to have been originally a Fort. Fortification walls built of rubble stones rising to over 6′ are found running around the mound. A hero stone assignable to 7th Century A. D. has been copied sometime back from the same mound by this Department. The other find comes from Panayakkulam village. In this village also there is a huge mound now being cultivated where these lovely terracottas have been recovered by the local Tamil Pandit Thiru Devarajan of Palakkodu. The mound belongs to 12 villages and once in 10 years the 12 villages assemble in the area and celebrate festival. A hero stone assignable to 7th century A. D. in Vatteluttu characters from the same mound was copied by the State Department of Archaeology few years ago. But now another hero stone in Vatteluttu character has also been unearthed from the same mound.

These two groups of terracottas coming from Dharmapuri area add considerably to the knowledge of South Indian Terracotta Art.

Tamil Bell in Newzealand

[Mr. J. C. G. Lever of Australia was keenly interested in a Bell, with Tamil Inscription, now preserved in Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand. His following enquiry regarding the Bell was passed on to me by T.N. Krishnaswamy of Madras. An excellant photograph of the Bell was also sent with the letter. I examined the Bell and the paleography of the inscription. The inscription is in late 18th or early 19th century Tamil characters and reads "Bell of Mubaideen Vaksu's ship". It would now be interesting to know when the Museum, cameto be in possession of it etc. —The Editor.]

J. C. G. Lever's letter

You will no doubt remember my speaking with you a short time ago on the matter of the exhibit styled "Tamil Bell" in the Museum.

In times past, Arab traders visited Southern India for exchange of merchandise and it is known that some of them settled down marrying Malayalee and Tamil women. To this day their descendants exist in separate communities there; the Moplahs, whose mothers were Malayalees, in the northern part of the State of Kerala (the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency of the British raj) who cultivate rice, coffee and coconut palms and the three other sects whose mothers were Tamils, namely the Rowthers of the Madura District of the State of Tamil nadu who deal in piece goods and textiles in general, the Lubbays of the North and South Arcot Districts of the same state who are tanners, hide and skin merchants and petty shopkeepers and the Maricars of the Tanjore District, also of the State of Tamil Nadu, who cultivate rice, grow coconut palms and own light coastal vessels and take part in limited coastal trade adjacent to their homeland and Ceylon.

The descendants of the Arab traders spoke and wrote the language of their mothers (Malayalam and Tamil) and professed the religion of their fathers. They were born to the religion of Islam, the religion of their fathers, their mothers no doubt were converted to Islam by their spouses.

As the bell bears a Tamil inscription and the name appearing is islamic, one can only conclude that exhibit is a Maricar bell from one of their ships. The ship to which the bell belonged could have reached the West Coast of New Zealand via Indonesia (the old Netherlands East Indies), as these people settled down in the Islands early in history and their descendants are to be found even today. However, the possibility of direct voyaging from South India cannot be ruled out, for the Maricars, like their forebears, were great sea rovers.

The presence of a bell on a Maricar ship, however, poses an interesting question. Their ships are believed to have been small and the need for a bell on them, to serve the purpose of a ship's bell as we know it, would hardly arise. The bell, perhaps, was used on the ship to summon the devout Muslim to his five times of prayer. It needs here to be mentioned that the four sects of Arab descendants mentioned earlier have shown greater religious fervour than perhaps their forebears - the atrocities committed by the Moplahs against their Hindu neighbours, in their uprising in Malabar in 1921 against the British, would prove this. However, further reading and research in the matter of the presence and use of the bell is needed.

I would be most grateful if you would kindly have the Tamil script on the bell copied out, as carefully as possible so that I could have it investigated by a friend of mine in Southern India in order to throw some light as to when the two Tamil characters, said to be not in common use today fell out of use This would enable one to date the bell, at least to some degree of accuracy, and also provide further information about the bell.

—J. C. G. Lever

Chalukya and Nolamba Sculptures from Trailoki

Ka. Kulandaivelan

Trailoki is a small village, about 8 K. M. away from Thiruppanandal, near Kumbakonam in Tanjore Dissrict. The name Trailoki is a corrupt form of Trailokyamahadevi Caturvedimangalam mentioned in Chola records. Rajendra Chola I, after his victorious expedition to the Gangetic Plains, returned to his capital with the sacred water of Ganges and on his way visited this place, before reaching Gangaikonda Cholapuram, and worshiped Lord Siva in the Kailāsanātha temple of the village. An inscription found on the temple records this fact.

> "இராஜேந்திர சோழதேவர் கங்கை கொண்டு
> எழுந்தருளுகின்ற இடத்து திருவடிதொழுது".

There is another Siva temple, named Sundareswara which is important from another angle. It houses two interesting sculptures - one a Chalukyan and another Nolamba sculpture. The Chalukyan sclupture, about 1½ metres in height, represents Subrahmanya and Devasena, standing. It is a delightful group and perhaps the best Chalukya sculpture preserved in Tamilnadu. In the Tanjore Art Gallary, is now preserved another Chalukya sculpture of 'Dvārapala, brought as a war trophy by Rājādhirāja I after the sack of Kalyan. It was originally in Darasuram, near Kumbakonam. But aesthetically, the Subrahmanya and Devasena are far more superior.

The Nolamba sculpture represents Uma Mahesvara seated on a recumbant Bull. It is a rare instance Umamahesvara a group is shown as if being carried in a procession. A number of Nolamba sculptures have been located in Chola country as in places like Tanjore, Thiruvaiyru etc. These also found their way to Tamil country as a part of booty.

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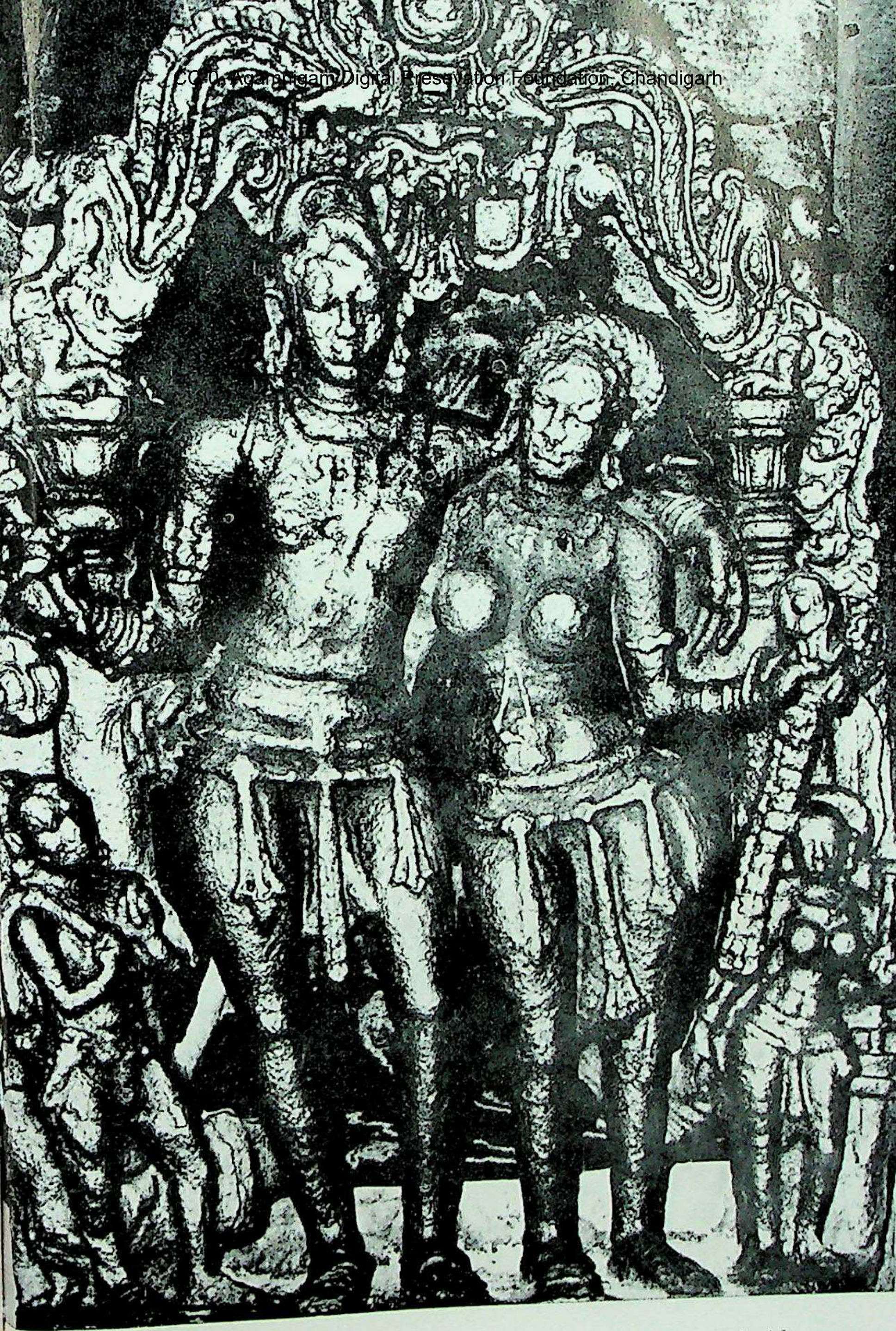
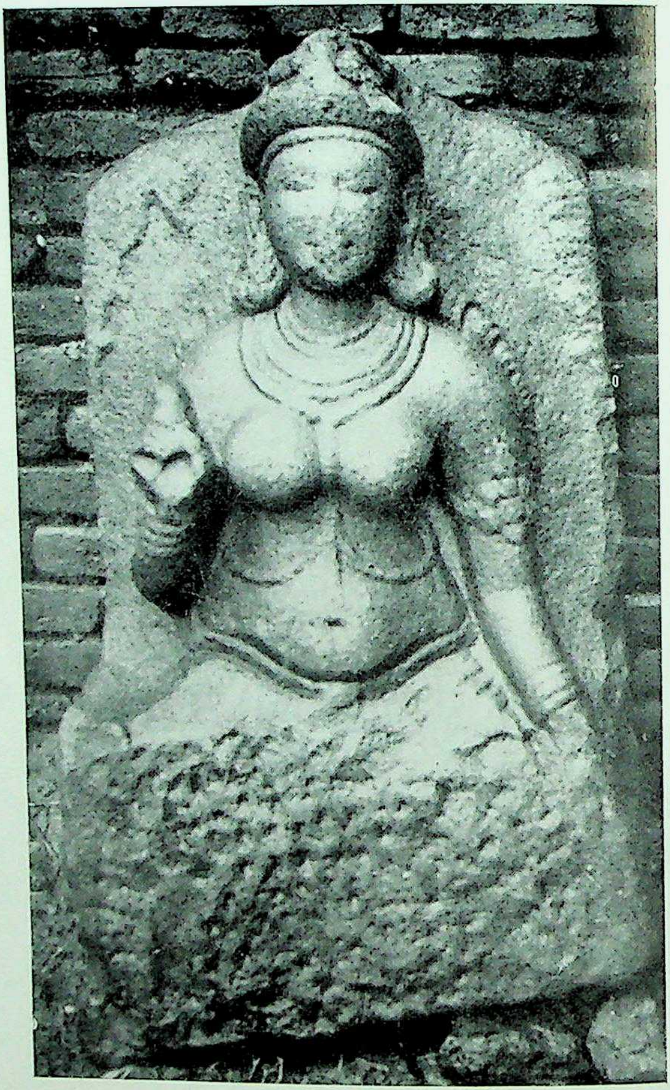


Subrahmanya and Devasena, Trailoki, Tanjore district, probably brought as a war trophy, Chalukya, 10th Century A.D.



Jyeshta from Trailoki. Now in the Thirumalai Nayak Mahal Museum, Madurai, Later Pallava period, 9th Century A. D.

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Besides these two sculptures of historical interest, a number of other scluptures assignable to Pallava-Chola transitional period (9th & 12th Century) have been found in Traillōki village and these have now been acquired by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. The sculptures include four belonging to a Saptamata group, a Caṇḍikesvara and a Jyēshṭa. The Jyēshṭa, particularly an elegant representation has unfortunately suffered damage, in the hands of urchins, who have chiselled off the lower part of the sculpture, below the waist. Even in its mutilated state, the sclupture has not lost its grace and is assignable to the end of 9th century, later Pallava period. Two stone slabs used for washing cloth, turned out to be scluptures of Māhēswari and Cāmuṇḍa, assignable to 11th century A.D. A few other sculptures since acquired, are in bad state of preservation. It is not unlikely that they originally belonged to the Kailasanatha temple of that village.

Ashtamatrikas at Thiruvaiyaru

S. Rajagopal

Thiruvaiyaru is a small town, about 12 k.m. away from Tanjavur. A stone slab figuring nine deities is found in the midst of a cocoanut grove within the temple complex of the famous Siva temple in this town. The deities are now called *Navapidaris*, nine goddesses. During festivals, drums are beaten before these deities ceremonially to mark the beginning of the festival. No other offerings, daily or otherwise is offered to these deities.

The panel actually portray Lord Siva in the centre, flanked by four goddesses on either side. The figures are not *navapidaris* as is popularly held, but represent the *Ashtamātrikas* noticed for the first time in Tamilnad. On grounds of style the sculptures may be assigned to the end of 9th Century A.D.

In the panel, which is 2 metre in length and 60 cm. in height, three deities-Brahmi with three heads, Vārāhi with her boar-head, and Cāmuṇḍa with her *jatāmandala* could be easily identified besides Siva. But otherwise all the deities are shown in the same pose; seated on a *padma.pītha.* resting the left leg on the pedestal, and planting the right on a *preta*, i,e. a corpse. All the nine deities carry *kapāla* in their left arms and *śūla* in the right arms. A *prabha* is shown behind each deity. Siva is seated in the centre, wearing *jaṭāmakuṭa*. His *upavita* is going over the right arm.

According to the *Varāhapurāṇa*, Siva pierced the body of Andhakāsura to destroy him. The gushing blood fell to the ground and from each drop that came into contact with the earth, thousand Andhakāsuras sprang up and offered battle. To prevent the blood falling on to the ground, Siva created Yogesvari. Other Gods Brahma, Mahesvara. Vishnu, Kumara, Varāha, Indra and Yama also sent their Saktis-called Brāhmi,

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Māhēsvari, Kaumāri, Vaishnavi, Vārāhi, Indrāni and Cāmuṇḍa. Assisted by these eight Saktis, Siva destroyed Andhaka.

From the above account the Ashṭamātas, portrayed at Thiruvaiyaru panel may be identified with the eight Saktis described in the Varāhapurāna, namely Yogesvari, Brāhmi, Māhesvari, Kaumāri, Vaishnavi, Vārahi, Indrāni and Chāmunda.

The order in which the deities are portrayed in the panel also deserve special mention. In the centre is Siva, who may be identified with Yogesvara. The order of representation seems to be Māhēsvari, Brāhmi, Vaishnavi, Kaumāri, (to the right of Siva) Vārāhi, Indrāni, Chāmuṇḍa and Yogesvari (to the left of Siva). At the beginning is Mahesvari and at the end, Yogesvari, with Siva as Yogesvara in the centre.

The adoration of Siva as Yogesvara and Devi as Yogesvaris assumed greater significance in Tantric cult and are extolled in tantras like *Yoga Yāmala*. It has not however been possible to get any textual authority for the portrayal of the figures in this order. It has been stated earlier that the sculptures are assignable to the end of 9th Century A.D. It shows the popularity of the cult in Tamilnad as early as 9th Century A.D.

Please see the article on Tantric cult at Darasuram appearing elsewhere in this book.

On the Krsna cult

Dr. S. Ramakrishnan

As Basham would say, "Hinduism is essentially tolerant, and would rather assimilate than rigidly exclude".[1] The Indian penchant for synthesis is perhaps nowhere more clearly seen than in the growth of the Krsna cult.

The earliest reference to Krsna occurs in the Rigveda VIII. 96. 13-15. The passage speaks of a battle on the banks of the Amsumati river. As D.D. Kosambi points out.

The traditional explanation is that this Krsna was an 'Asura', i.e. non-Aryan, and the fighting against Indra on the banks of Amsumati river was real, not symbolic of something else.[2]

But it is obvious that Indra and Krsna were not historical figures fighting against each other on the banks of the Amsumati. As often in the old Testament, the battle between the natives and the invaders is interpreted as a trial of strength between their different gods. The conclusion is inescapable this was one of the many battles fought between the Indus valley Dravidians[3] and the Aryan invaders and that Krsna was the god who inspired the Dravidian resistance.

We do not know the Dravidian name of Krsna that was in vogue in the Indus valley. Krsna ('black') must have been known by some which would mean 'dark-skinned god'.

Another aspect of the Krsna myth is unfolded in Chāndogya Uphnisad III. 17. 1-7. Here we are told that "Krsna the son of Devaki" learnt the truth about the soul from

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1. A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India page 312.
2. D.D. Kosambi, Myth and Reality page 39. note 16.
3. Also refer to my Intiyap Panpāṭum Tamilarum pp. 48-60.

Ghora Angirasa and attained spiritual illumination. It seems certain that the god of the Indus valley people was a deified sage. It need not surprise us that Ghora was Krsna's teacher. For Angirasas, though vedic seers, seem to have been of Dravidian origin. At any rate, Dīrghatamas (the name, which means 'long darkness', proclaims his Dravidian origin), spoken of as Manmata's son (a relic of matriarchy), belonged to the Angiras family. After all the end of the chronically stagnant Indus valley civilization brought about by the Aryan invaders led to the emergence of a new composite society, based on a plough-agriculture economy expanding into jungles cleared by fire,[4] in which the Indus valley ruling class including its priests played a vital part.[5] It was indeed this new social order which made possible the later identification of Krsna with Visnu, a subordinate deity, in the Rigvedic pantheon, though Krsna's hostility to Indra continued to be elaborated by means of legends like Krsna's lifting of the Govardana hill for protecting the rain-god incensed to fury by their refusal to worship him.

It is noteworthy that Chāndogya Upanisad speaks of Krsna with his matronymic, and not with his patronymic. Evidently, the legend of Krsna had its origin in a matriarchal society. And in view of the fact that even in the fourth century B C. Kautilya urged the collectors of medicines to bow and pray to Krsna and Kamsa) *Arthasāstra* X. 14. 0), it is not far-fetched to conclude that the triumph of Krsna (representing father-right) over his maternal uncle Kamsa (representing mother-right) indicates that of patriarchy over matriarchy.

Just as Krsna's subduing (not killing, be it noted) of Kāliya connotes the subordination of Nāga worship to Krsna worship among the tribes that worshipped Nāga. Krsna's marriage to more than fifteen thousand women connotes the absorption of numerous matriarchal tribes each with a mother-goddess of its own into the partiarchal society centring round Krsna worship.

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[4] Refer: The Satapatha Brahmana (1. 4, 1. 14-17) Mahabharata I. 214-225 (Khandavadahaparva).

[5] D. D Kosambi, An Introduction to the study of Indian History pp. 102-106; see my *Intiyap Panpadum Tamilarum* pp. 145-171.

The 'husband' eased the transition from mother-right to patriarchal life, and allowed the original cults to be practised on a subordinate level.[6]

The popularity of Krsna led to his identification with Vasudeva, son of Vasudeva of the Sattava sect of the Yādavas. This identification is most clearly seen in making Vasudeva and Devaki the parents of Vāsudeva-Krsna. Vāsudeva-Krsna and Arjuna were deified heroes even in the fifth cenrury B.C.· Pānini (in 4. 3. 98) refers to their being worshipped as gods. Curtius says that the army of Porus carried Krsna's figure in front as it advanced to meet Alexander's army.[7] Magasthenes speaks of the popularity of the Krsna cult in the land watered by Yamuna and in the Pāṇḍya country.[8] In the second century B. C., the Greek Heliodorus erected the Besnagar column in honour of Vāsudeva.

The identification of the sage Nārāyana with Visnu and thus with Krsna is another noteworthy aspect of the syncretism we are considering. Nārāyana is not mentioned in the Vedas. He is first mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmana (XII, 3,4. The passages say that Nārāyana performed a five-day sacrifice (Pancarātra-sattra) and thereby excelled all beings and became all beings in the universe. The notion that Nārayana is Visnu occurs in a later interpolation of the Bodhāyana Dharma Sūtra as well as in Nārāyaniya, a later accretion to the Mahabharata. Whether the name is Dravidian (the first syllable a modified form of *nīr* ('water') and the last a masculine ending) meaning 'the god that lies in the water' (it is of course difficult to account for the change of the vowel *nīr* to *nār)* and whether with or without this interpretation we should consider him an Indus valley god identical with 'the Mesopotamian Ea or Enki, who sleeps in the chamber in the midst of the waters, as Sumerian myth and many a Sumerian seal tell us;[9] or whether with

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[6] Myth and Reality, page 28.

[7] K. A. N. Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, 2nd edition-Delhi, 1967, pp. 110.

[8] Macrindle, Ancient India, London, 1877. pp. 158-59.

[9] Myth and Reality, pp. 20-21.

Bhandarkar we should take the name to mean the resting-place or goal *(ayana)* of nara or a collection of Naras (i. e. men[10]); or whether with D. C. Sircar we should take Narayana to be an ancient leader of thought, born in the family of another sage Nara[11] (cf. Kānvayana 'descendent of Kanva') it is clear that the Nārāyana cult got merged with the cult of Visnu and thus of Krsna.

The Krsna cult also attracted the Sankarsṇa cult to itself. Arthasāstra speaks of the devotees of Sankarsṇa as ascetics with shaven heads or matted locks (XIII. 3). But while there he is not clubbed with Krsna, the epics speak of Sankarsna, also called Balarāma, as Krsna's elder brother. Sankarsṇa means the 'plough man' and so he is evidently an agricultural deity. Balarāma came to be looked upon as an avatar of Adisesa either because he had originally been a Nāga deity or because his cult brought to its fold many Nāga tribes. How Balarāma came to have the Palmyra leaf as his emblem is a mystery. The only possible explanation is that he gained this emblem as a result of the extention of his influence in the South (for the palmyra grows in parts of South India only-apart from Bengal which had not then made itself felt in the national life.) It is noteworthy that the Tamils of the Sangam age worshipped Balarama as one of the four great gods (*Puranānūru*, 56). Even before the age in which the poems of Puranānūru, were composed, we find Tolkāppiar in his grammar discussing the peculiar formation of the word '*panaikkoṭi*' (the banner with palmyra leaf on it): he says that though the '*ai*' sound is lost when '*panai*' combines with a *seqeent* word (e. g. *Panai culai-pananculai)*, in '*panaikkoti*' alone the '*ai*' sound is not lost but the hard a consonat is doubled (*Eluttatikaram*, 285) M. Raghava Iyengar (Arāyccit Tokuti. p 54) rightly points out that this special rule about *panaikkoti* makes, clear its widespread popularity. The popularity of the banner with palmyra in those distant days in Tamilakam brings home to use the wide prevalence of the Balarāma cult in this part of the country.

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[10] Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious sects, pp 42–43.

[11] History and culture of the Indian people, Volume II, page 437,

Krsna's Tamil name is Māyōn (the dark-skinned god). Perhaps an ancestral from of 'Māyōn' had been the god's name in the Indus Valley and the Aryan speakers translated it in their language as 'Krsna'. The earliest record about Māyōn-Krsna with reference to Tamilakam is in Magasthenes.[12] He reports that Heracles had made his daughter Pandain, ruler of the extreme South of India and that her female descendants have been ruling that region ever since. He adds that the sovereign maintains an orderly, well-organised administration and that each of of the 365 villages in her domain brings its revenue to the State Treasury on an appointed day. (The last point is echoed by *Cilappatikaram* 17. 5-7.)

Since Megasthenes' reference to the worship of Heracles in the Yamuna region denotes Krsna worship, there is no doubt that he is referring to Lord Krsna himself as the father of Pandaia, the first queen of the extreme South. We can also conclude that around 300 B. C., there had grown a legend at least in and around far-off Pātaliputra (Patna), where Megasthenes lived at Chandragupta Maurya's court, that the Pāṇḍya dynasty had been founded by Krsna's daughter, and that the Pāṇḍya country was under women rulers.

Of course the legend is not without foundation. It is significant that the Pāṇḍya capital on the banks of the Vaikai came to be named after the holy city of Krsna on the banks of the Yamuna. Moreover, the tradition of the shepherds of the Pāṇḍya country-alive in the Sankam days-averred that they came to Tamilakam with the Pāṇḍya progenitors (*Kalittokai* 104. 4-5). Another significant detail is that if Gautama Buddha speaks of the widespread Yaksha worship in the northern Matura[1],[3] Cilappatikāram (15 : 126) makes the same point about the Pāṇḍya Maturai. Above all, inasmuch as Ilango Aḍikaḷ speaks of Maturāpati, the tutelary deity of Madurai, as the founder and first ancestor of the Pāṇḍya dynasty (28-11- 3), one can surmise the prevalence in the early centuries of the Christian era of the legend that the queen who founded the Pāṇḍya dynasty became the tutelar goddess of Madurai.

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[12] Meerinple, Ancient India, London 1877, pp. 158-59.

[13] Anguttara Nikaya, Panchaka Nipata.

Later she came to be identified with Mīnaksi (Uma) .and in tune with the ethos of the patriarchal society the legend grew that the goddess was born as Tatātakai (the word means 'the invincible'), daughter of Malayatthuvaja Pandya.

In view of these considerations, it may be said that at least the dominant group of the Indus valley Dravidians who came to the extreme South were matriarchal tribes and that when they coalesced to form a State it was ruled by women. Later, of course, with advances in means of production-with field-tillage done with the plough-matriarchy gave place to patriarchy. Let alone Asoka's edicts which refer to the male rulers of Pāṇḍya as well as Chola and Chera countries,[14] Kātyāyana (4 th Century B. C.) says in his *Vārttika* on Pāṇiṇi IV, 1, 168 that the *Taddhita 'Pāṇḍya'* is applicable both to a descendant of Pāṇḍu family and to a king of the country belonging to such a descendant.

Tamil tradition speaks of Māyōn (Krsna) as the god of the pastoral tract,[15] though Māyōn was worshipped in the Sankam age all over the Tamil Land. Evidently, the original worshippers of Māyōn were predominently inhabitants of the pastoral tract. They were not merely herdsmen for, like hunting and agriculture with cattle-drawn plough, "cattle-raising is almost everywhere men's work", as G. Thomson points out. Evidently, the first Dravidians who came to what we now call Pāṇḍya country supplemented cattle-raising by the cultivation of seeds in plots adjecent to the settlement, which is, to quote Thomson again, 'Women's work.[16] And matrilineal descent continued into a much higher stage than the ethnological date might lead us to expect, because these tribes had passed rapidly throug hunting, which is men's task to garden-tillage.

Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the pastoral aspect of the Krsna myth grew in prehistoric Tamilnad. In fact, earliest reference in Indian literature to Krsna's pranks with milkmaids is in the Sankam anthology *Ahananuru* (59) wherein we are told that Māyōn bent trees on the bank of the Tholunai river to enable the milkmaids (bathing naked in the river) to hide themselves among the foliage (or clothe themselves with leaves). Cilappatikāram (17. 24) makes a cryptic reference to this prank of Māyōn. The annotators explain that Māyōn had in sport, hidden the clothes left by the women on the banks of the river and that when he saw Balarāma coming that way bent the trees to enable the women to conceal themselves and himself to conceal his mischief.

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[14] Radha Kumud Mukerjee - Asoka-Delhi, 1962. pp. 161.

[15] "The pastoral tract beloved of Mayon" Tolkappiam, porulati karam, 5.

[16] G. Thomson, Studies in Ancient Greek Society Vol. I, pp. 42-43.

The earliest literary reference to Krsna's dance with shepherdesses also occurs in Tamil literature only. The seventeenth canto of Cilappatikāram describes a worship of Krsna by means of a dance by seven virgins, of whom three play the parts of Krsna, Balarāma, and Nappinnai and the other four those of shepherdesses. It is of course a ritual, but a ritual which enacts Krsna's group dance with shepherdesses at his Gokula.

While, according to early Indian tradition, the Yādavas of the Yamuna and Dwaraka regions were Kahatriyas of the lunar dynasty, the purānas. which attained their more-or-less final shape in the Gupta era, link the Yādava Krsna with herdsmen and call him Govinda (god of herdsmen).[17] They speak of the upbringing of Devaki's son by Yasoda at her Gokula, where he used to have a gala time dancing merrily with gopikas (milkmaids). Since Māyon was first and foremost the god of the pastoral tract in prehistoric Tamilakam and since Krsna's sports with milkmaids had already been sung of by Tamil poets, it is evident that the purānas describe Mayon's sports as Krsna's. It is probable that the nomadic shepherds from the south spread the Govinda cult. The Ābhiras, who rose to prominence in Western Deccan and Malwa in the early centuries of the Christian era (An Ābhira dynasty ruled the north-western

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[17] Basham. p. 308, footnote, Govinda is probably a Prakrit word. absorbed by Sanskrit in its original form. The correct Sanskrit equivalen would thus be Gopendra. On the Orthodex assumption that the word it pure Sanskrit stranslation would be "Cow-finder."

Deccan for 63 years, after the Satavāhanas, in the third century according to the Purānas, "is thought to have played a big part in the propagation of the worship of Krsna Govinda"[18]

It is interesting to note that according to Tamil tradition Krsna's favourite wife was the milkmaid Nappinnai.[19] The purānas are unaware of her. They never mention any milkmaid as Krsna's wife. It is true that Rādha hailed from the herdsmen class and that the medieval Bhakti movement in the North celebrated Rādha and Radhakrishna in particular. But Rādha is spoken of only as Krsna's lover. while the ancient Tamils worshipped Nappinnai as Krsna's favourite wife. Hence Ilango compares Kovalan and Kannagi to Krsna and Nappinnai (16. 46-51). This makes clear that Nappinnai held a status superior even to that of Rukmini and other wives of Krsna. The Alvars too share this view and revere Nappinnai in particular.

Puranānūru (174) refers to a miracle performed by Māyon. It says that once the Asuras had hidden away the sun and plunged the world into darkness and that the dark-skinned god rescued the sun, placed him on the sky and thus relieved the sufferings of mankind. This is a legend which the puranas are unaware of. We learn from Maduraikkānci (590-91) that Māyōn, the victor over the Asuras, was born when the star *Srona* (the twenty-second *naksatra*) was in the ascendant and that his birthday was celebrated with great festivities in the Sankam era-especially in the Pāṇḍya capital. The strength of this tradition of Krsna's natal *naksatra* being *srona* is clearly seen in later Tamil literature as well. While the puranas, following the syncretism of Krsna and Vasudeva speak of *Rohini* as Krsna's natal star, Periyālwār would say that Krsna's natal naksatra was *Srona* (I. 1. 3; I. 2. 6; II. 4. 2.). Tirumalisai Alvār speaks of *Srona* festival as belonging to Visnu (4. 41). Tevaram (643. 10) speaks of Visnu as "Lord of the Srona". The people of Kerala who have conserved the cultural traditions better than the other Dravidians celebrate Srona festival even now though the myth behind the festival today is different; they claim to celebrate the *Srona* festival in honour of the annual visit by Maha Bali.

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Jean Filliozat. Un Texte Tamoul de devotion Vishnouite le Tiruppāvai D' Aṇṭāl - Pondichery 1972 - Introduction - pages XV to XIX

In India God with us is not a remote deity to be looked up to with shiver in the spine. The Hindu gods, as Tagore would say somewhere, belong to our homes as well as to our temples. Among them, Krsna, whom the Tamils lovingly call Kannan (the world is derived from the Prakrit *Kanha*, but it also has a specific Tamil meaning-'the god who has Kan' (the all-wise all-kind protector) where '*kan*' means 'benignity', 'wisdom', and 'protection' He is the Eternal child who is born again and again. He is bewitchingl naughtv as he crawls before you on all fours. He is the lover *par xcellence* infinitely virile and endlessly sportive. He is the statesman of stature with 'Atlantean shoulders' that would bear the weight of mightiest states in ease. He is our friend, counsellor and philosopher. As our guide through the 'seven ages of man' amidst worldly joys and sorrows and cares, as our companion in camps and on campuses, in home and offices. factories and fields, he helps us to transcend ourselves by treading the path of Bhakti, action and wisdom. The greatest divine poem of India, the Gita, is his gospel to us, a poem which is eternally relevant thanks to its fidelity to basic principles and freedom from dogma. Yes, if Krsna as God is a product of syncretism, Krsna the philosopher is sublimely eclectic. No wonder from the days of Sankara to those of Gandhi several scholars and men of action have interpreted it variously. But whatever might have been the contemporary relevance of the different viewpoints, one thing is clear: the grand message of the Gita is '*niskāmya karma*'. This message of selfless action might have been used to buttress exploitation by mercenary hirelings. But the Gita is not responsbile for it. The message of the Gita is one of recognition of the identity of all men (we are members of one another; the single *Ātman* animates all of us) and of selfless co-operative action. Hence it is that the Messiah of the Modern Era, the Tamil poet Subramania Bharati sustained his vision of a vedantic communist and he vindicated his revolutionary belief by living up to them.

Is Niyoga Dead?

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

When a husband dies, the widow was permitted to have conjugal relationship with his brother for begetting children and such a course was called *Niyoga* in the *dharma sastras*. This was not only widely prevalent in ancient India but was also considered a right of the widow to get children through her brother-in-law.

Nāri tu patyabhave tu devaram krnute patim 1

Early *Smrties* permitted the widow to have as many children through her brother-in-law as she desired, but later on it was restricted to three only and still later permitted only one son to be raised through *Niyoga.*[2] The law givers Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and Manu, led a crusade against this custom but yet gave detailed rules about the *Niyoga*, which shows that the custom was very much in vogue in the society. "The *Niyoga* custom was thus felt to be more and more undesirable in course of time and the public opinion became very strong against it. It therefore went out of vogue soon after 600 A. D." says A.S. Altekar in his work "The position of women in Hindu Civilization[3]"

The question of interest is whether this custom is dead? A recent study by the author has shown that *Niyoga* is not dead and it is very much alive even to this day among certain sections of the people in Tamilnad. Two examples will be cited here. The custom is prevalent among a section of the people called Servaikkarar near Madurai. After the death of her husband, the widow lives with her husband's brother as his wife.

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1. Mahabhārata XIII, 12-19.
2. A-S, Altekar, 'The position of women in Hindu civilization'' pp.145,
3. Ibid, 148.

In a village near Karur in Trichy District, a community of people called Nāyaka live in hamlets. Though they are living in the heart of Tamilnad, they are Telugu speakers, who seem to have migrated to this place from Bellary reigion in Andhra Pradesh in 16th Century. They are primarily hunters. Among them, the custom of Niyoga is still prevalent. The widow virtually remarries her brother-in-law, a custom accepted perfectly as legal by the society. This seems to be a surviving custom of the age old Niyoga of the Hindu law-givers. The Nāyakas seem to have brought this from their homeland in Andhra Predesh, thus indicating that this system svrvived in Andhra desa, We have also seen that Servai community from Tamilnadu also practise this custom. It is likely that a careful study of some isolated communities in other parts of India,might reveal the survival of this custom.

This and other strange marriage customs, prevalent in Tamilnad will be discussed in a forthcoming publication of SAHER. The Editor.]

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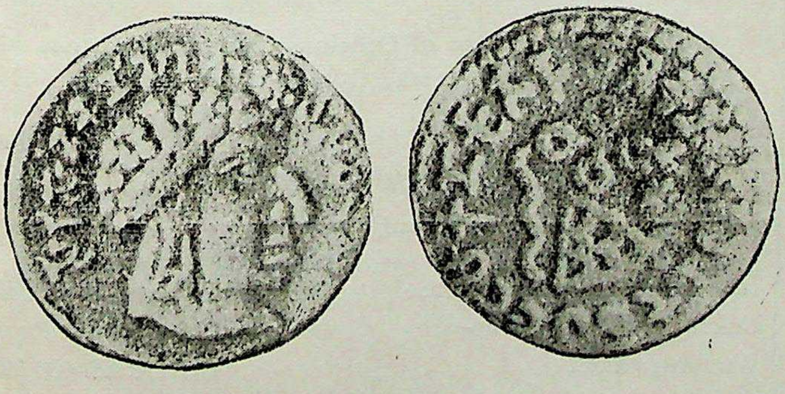

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